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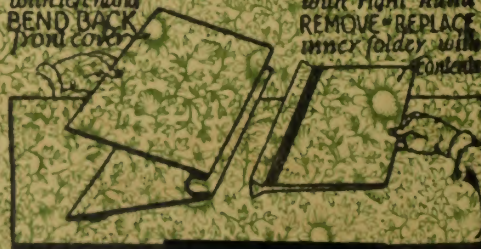
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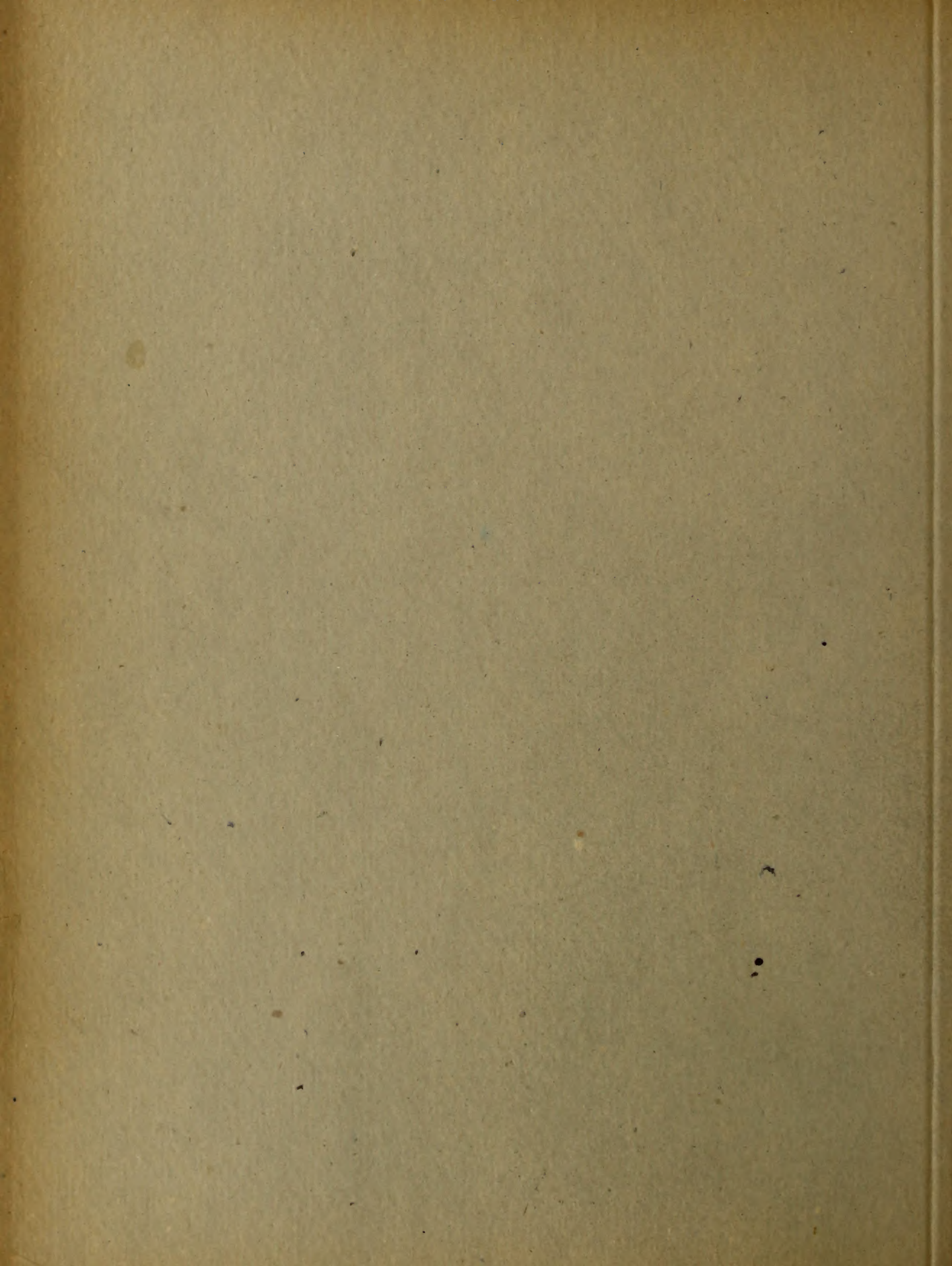
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THE CONFLICT OF CHURCH AND STATE IN FRANCE

by

Arthur Dexter Stroud

(A. B. University of Minnesota, 1906 : S. T. B. Boston University, 1909)

A Dissertation

submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the

degree of Doctor of Philosophy

GRADUATE SCHOOL

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Introduction

The Conflict of Church and State in France

Chapter 1

Introduction

French Independence- Christianity in France- Papal Autocracy-
Royal Autocracy- The Conflict- Scope of the Field of Study- Other
Writers in the Same Field

Nations like individuals, must needs struggle in order that they may realize their better selves. Forces are ever active which tend to retard progress rather than help. These forces are of various kinds, sometimes material, at others spiritual. Strange as it may seem, at times, a branch of the christian church has been the stone in the road of a nation's upward march. This does not mean that such a church was all bad but that its general influence was detrimental. Such was the experience which France had in its relation to the Roman Catholic Church during the period of time which this paper covers.

From the days when Vercingetorix, the old Gallic hero, made his heroic stand against the Roman invaders, to the day when the sturdy poilu of that country stood at Verdun with its defiant cry that the Germans should not pass, there has been an independent spirit permeating French life, that can only call for the world's admiration. It seems to be commonly held that, while this independence of spirit has been a characteristic of France in her relations with other nations, yet for the greater part of her long career as a nation, she has been the willing and obedient servant of the Holy See. This however is not true and one of the purposes of this paper will be to give a picture of the long and, we trust, successful struggle against papal domination.

The Conflict of Church and State in France

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In the beginning, let us remember that France is the oldest christian nation in Europe. Christianity had its beginnings there back in Gallic times, brought in from the East, probably by Hellenistic Jews. During the breaking up of Roman civilization, it was the church that preserved much of what was left of Roman organization. As, under the Roman Empire, the church was a civil institution, so under the Germanic invaders, it became a feudal and military institution. In the great feudal system that covered France down through Mediaeval times, the Higher Clergy filled just as real and definite a place as the secular nobles. (1)

As it is impossible to dwell at any length on the early Church of France, it is likewise out of place to trace the development of Roman supremacy over this semi-feudal, semi-religious organization. We must however call attention to the fact that, by the time (that) France had really entered on the road to nationhood, the papal claim to supreme sovereignty over nations as well as churches, had received its most extravagant expression. A quotation from the Bull Unam Sanctam of Pope Boniface the Eighth will serve to show us the character of these claims. "Therefore there is one body of the one and only church, and one head not two heads, as if the church were a monster, and this head is Christ and his vicar, Peter and his successors; for the Lord himself said to Peter, 'Feed my sheep!' (John 21:16) And he said 'my sheep' in general, not these or those sheep in particular; from which it is clear that all were committed to him.----- By the words of the gospel, we are taught that the two swords, namely the spiritual authority and the temporal are in the power of the church. For when the apostle said 'Here are two swords' (Luke 22:38) that is in the church, since it was the apostles who were speaking, the Lord did not answer, 'It is too much' but 'It is enough.' Who ever denies that the temporal sword is in the power of Peter does not properly understand the word of the Lord when he

(1) See formulae for the grant of land to the church and 'Count of Champagne grants a fief to the Bishop of Beauvais' in "Source Book for Mediaeval History" by F. A. Ogg, 1907 Pp.207f and 209f

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said, ' Put up the sword in the sheath. ' (John 18:11) Both swords therefore, the spiritual and the temporal are in the power of the church, the one by the hands of the priests, the other by the hands of kings and knights, but at the command and permission of the priest.----- Therefore if the temporal power errs, it will be judged by the spiritual power, and if the lower spiritual power errs, it will be judged by its superior. But if the highest spiritual power errs, it cannot be judged by men but by God alone. For the apostle says, ' But he that is spiritual judgeth all things, yet he himself is judged by no man. ' (1 Cor. 2:15)----- We therefore declare, say, and affirm that submission on the part of every man to the Bishop of Rome is altogether necessary for his salvation." (1)

The development of France into a united and independent nation covered a long period of time. The germ of it is found in the breaking up of the Roman Empire. Its geography is foreshadowed in the time of the Carolingians, dissipated in the days of feudal disintegration, reborn in the times of Hugh Capet, gradually rebuilt through the days of Phillip Augustus, Louis the Ninth, and Philip the Fair until, by the time of Louis the Eleventh, (1461-1483) the general outlines of France are complete. Coming down from Carolingian days, there was a high conception of the kingly office which was emphasized and developed through a study of the Roman law. According to the principles and maxims of this law, as interpreted by some of the legists of that day, the King was looked upon as the source of the whole institutional life of the state. He had the supreme right to judge, to administer, to legislate, and to tax, Thus aided, a development in the conceptions of the prerogatives of the king had gradually gone on until, by the time mentioned above, the idea of the absolute monarch had theoretically, reached a full expression.

(1) Raynaldus anno 1302, sec. 13; Revue des Questions Historiques Vol. 46, pp. 255f. Translated in Source Book for Mediaeval History, O. D. Thatcher and E. H. MacNeal 1905 pp. 314ff

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(1) Raynolds anno 1802, sec. 13; Revue des Questions Historiques Vol. 46, pp. 2557. Translated in Source Book for Medieval History, O. D. Tatcher and M. H. MacNeal 1903 pp. 2147

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We thus have a picture before us of two great powers, both claiming authority over the people of France and, inasmuch as their spheres of activity were very inadequately defined and both sounded the claim of absolute authority, a situation was created that could lead to nothing but conflict. During the long history of France, the national government has passed through various changes in form, while the claims of the Holy See have ever remained the same. As no self-respecting and independent government can exist and acknowledge those claims, the conflict has ever continued to rage.

We purpose to take a look over a period of something less than a thousand years of French history to determine how that battle has gone. The field is too large to go into any one section of that time and study it with microscopic thoroughness. But to understand movements in society, one must see the developments in their various phases in order to determine the connection of causes and effect and to see how the conditions of today grew out of those of yesterday. It is only as one thus views French religious history, that her present religious problem can be sympathetically approached. This is the sufficient reason for such an extended survey.

There are two books whose contents cover very much the same ground as our field of study. The first is a report made by Aristide Briand in the name of the committee appointed by the French Chamber of Deputies in 1905, to study the problem of the separation of Church and State and to report. This report traces the struggle between the Church of Rome and the Temporal power of France from the time of Clovis down to 1905. It is now published in book form containing this historical survey of the committee, facts showing the condition of the various religious denominations in France at that time, a description of the relations of these two powers in other nations of the world, and a proposed separation law with an exposition of the various articles of the law. The title of the book is "La separation

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The second book to cover this field is entitled, " Church and State in France, 1300 to 1907 " and was written by Arthur Galton, Vicar of Edenham and Chaplain to the Earl of Lancaster. This book was published in 1907 while France was still attempting to settle the problem of the separation of Church and State. The writer was very interested in the struggle and that interest may have been the motive that led to the writing of the book. The book is naturally skeleton-like as it covers such a long period of time with comparatively few pages but it is well written, interesting, and authoritative. The writer gives an excellent bibliography that is a big help to any person entering this field of study.

Many writers have treated the conflict but have limited themselves to shorter periods. Two of these are especially good. The first in point of time, is by W. Henley Jervis, an English divine who published two books, the one entitled, " The Gallican Church to the Revolution, " and the other, " The Gallican Church and the Revolution. " The particular field of the first book is from the Concordat of Bologna to the Revolution although in the introduction, it carries the struggle back to the time of earliest French history. The second book is limited to the Revolution. Both books are quite exhaustive and very trustworthy.

The best books that are to be found for studying the years since 1789 are written by A. Debidour. In all, this writer has published three volumes treating of the conflict as it has been waged since that date. The first is entitled Histoire des Rapports de l'Eglise et de l'Etat en France, 1789a 1870. and was published in 1898. The other two volumes are really one book, although printed at different times. Both bear the title "L'Eglise Catholique et l'Etat sous la Troisieme Republique (1870-1906). Vol. 1 was published in 1906 and covers the years 1870-1889 while Vol. 2 came from the press in 1909 and treats of the period 1889-1906. Too much cannot be said in praise of these

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Les Eglises et le L'Hérétique.

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books. They are scholarly, fair, exhaustive, a truly masterful production.

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- (1) Note on the attitude of Clovis and Charlemagne taken from
 the Remonstrances of Parliament to Louis the Eleventh in
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 l'histoire de France. J. Leber pp 209-210
 (2) Saint Louis et son temps H. Wallon. Vol. 2 pp 241 for
 copy of the Pragmatic Sanction of St. Louis

Chapter 2

Foundation Stones of the Gallican Liberties

Pragmatic Sanction of Louis the Ninth-Conflict of Boniface the Eighth and Philip the Fair-Development of Learning and the Conflict-Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges

From the very earliest times, the French manifested an independence in their relationship to the papacy, very similar to that found in England and Germany.(1) The first step that we are to study, taken by the French in their struggle against papal interference was made in the reign of one of their most religious kings and illustrates what we will find again and again, that the French people, while steadfast and loyal to the spiritual leadership of the papacy, would not sanction its interference in the purely civil affairs of the state. Louis the Ninth was a very sincere and conscientious statesman and his demands as shown by the popular support accorded him, may undoubtedly be taken as a fairly accurate expression of the will of the people. His reign extended from 1226 to 1270 A. D. and during that time, he laid the foundation stones for the future development of the so-called " Gallican Liberties." In fact, the Pragmatic Sanction which has been attributed to him, has been called the " Magna Charta " of French religious liberties.

According to the terms of this document, the Church was to be administered in conformity with the common law, the canons of the councils, and the statutes of the ancient Fathers. Prelates, patrons, and ordinaries were to exercise their ancient rights and to enjoy the jurisdiction that rightfully belonged to them. The appointment to churches, cathedrals included, was to be by free election. In no place do we find any reference to the later practice of applying to Rome for confirmation and institution. Furthermore the exorbitant pecuniary imposts of the papacy were censured and forbidden except in the case of absolute necessity.

- (1) Note on the attitude of Clovis and Charlemagne taken from the Remonstrances of Parliament to Louis the Eleventh in Collection des Meilleurs Dissertations relatifs a L'Histoire de France. J. Leber pp 309f
- (2) Saint Louis et son temps H. Wallon, Vol. 2 pp 26f for copy of the Pragmatic Sanction of St. Louis

Pragmatic Sanction of Louis the Ninth

For many years, there has been a dispute as to St. Louis' authorship of this Pragmatic Sanction. That the document as it now exists, is a forgery of a later day is universally accepted (1) but that the ideas there expressed are truly those of the famous king, is the verdict of the best students of that period. (2) This view finds strong support in extant original sources. An edict of Louis the Ninth dated 1268, thus anterior to the supposed date of the Pragmatic, takes an attitude similar to that of the disputed document on the matters of election to ecclesiastical offices and papal exactions. (3) An incident related by Joinville, the biographer of the noble king, goes even further in showing the royal independence of the papacy. According to this account, the Bishop of Auxerre, in the name of several prelates, tried to induce Louis to force those who had been excommunicated, to get absolution, under penalty of seizure of their goods. Louis said that he would be willing to do it only upon being given proof that the men excommunicated were in the wrong. When the prelates disputed his jurisdiction in these matters, the king gave them an account of the Count of Brittany, "who for seven years being excommunicated, was at peace with the prelates of Brittany, and he prevailed so far that the Pope condemned them all. If then, I had forced the Count of Brittany the first year to get absolution, I should have sinned against God and against him. Then the prelates gave up; and never since that time have I heard that a single demand was made touching the matters above spoken of." (4) All these things seem to show that a study of the Pragmatic Sanction will give a just picture of the work done by this king in combatting papal aggression.

- (1) Cambridge Modern History Vol. 1. p. 386
- (2) St. Louis and the Thirteenth Century, F. Masson: St. Louis et son temps, H. Wallon: Histoire de St. Louis, J. Faure: The Empire and the Papacy, T. F. Tout
- (3) Ordonnances des Rois de France de la Troisieme Race recuilles par ordre chronologique Tome 1 p 97
- (4) Memoires de Sire de Joinville found in Memoirs sur L'Histoire de France, J. Michaud and J. Poujoulat, L'Serie 1, p 312

It is to be noticed that some of the worst of the papal abuses are given a blow in this great charter. In the first place, the Church had extended an early claim of jurisdiction for the ecclesiastical courts until it had drawn into them nearly all cases, greatly to the enfeebling of the King's courts. (1) This had been done by claiming jurisdiction over all things religious and the necessary religious connection was not hard to find in almost every instance, provided only that sufficient ingenuity was used. We notice here that no protest is made against the principle of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, but rather an attempt is made to confine it within proper limits. It may be mentioned that the study of both Roman and German law, so extensive at this time, gave a great impulse to the desire of the king to uphold the dignity of his courts, inasmuch as both of these systems, as interpreted by legists of the day, pictured the throne as the source of justice.

In the second place, Louis sought for a remedy to do away with the predominating influence of the Papacy over the French clergy. Papal control of the filling of ecclesiastical offices meant a clergy subservient to the Holy See, rather than to the nation or the national church. The King, therefore, sought by means of free election to remedy this abuse.

The last abuse that the Pragmatic attempted to curb was that of papal exactions. The Church of France had come into the possession of great wealth in the period of its growth, and the Papacy, in its selfish exploits as a temporal sovereign, the upkeep of a lavish court, and its really legitimate expenses, found need for immense sums of money. Great ingenuity had been used by the Papal Court in devising schemes for exacting these funds from the church, such as the matter of expectatives, reservations, and the like. Protests had long been made against the papal finances, usually finding a sympathetic ear on the part of the King, not so much out of his desire to help his people, as through his own increasing need of funds to meet the demands of a growing court.

We thus find laid down in the days of Louis the Ninth, some very fundamental principles on which the future development of the Gallican Liberties was to take place.

(1) See formula for grant of immunity by the King to the Bishop, in Monumenta Germanica Historica Legum, Translated in "Source Book of Mediaeval History" by F.A.Ogg pp 211f

It is to be noticed that some of the worst of the papal abuses are given a blow in this great charter. In the first place, the Church had extended an early claim of jurisdiction for the ecclesiastical courts until it had drawn into them nearly all cases, greatly to the enfeebling of the King's courts. (1) This had been done by claiming jurisdiction over all things religious and the necessary religious connection was not hard to find in almost every instance, provided only that sufficient ingenuity was used. We notice here that no protest is made against the principle of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, but rather an attempt is made to confine it within proper limits. It may be mentioned that the statutes both Roman and German law, so extensive at this time, gave a great impulse to the desire of the King to uphold the dignity of his courts, inasmuch as both of these systems, as interpreted by legists of the day, pictured the throne as the source of justice.

In the second place, Louis sought for a remedy to do away with the predominating influence of the Papacy over the French clergy. Papal control of the filling of ecclesiastical offices meant a clergy subservient to the Holy See, rather than to the nation or the national church. The King, therefore, sought by means of free election to remedy this abuse.

The last abuse that the Pragmatic attempted to curb was that of papal exactions. The Church of France had come into the possession of great wealth in the period of its growth, and the Papacy, in its selfish exploits as a temporal sovereign, the up-keep of a lavish court, and its really legitimate expenses, found need for immense sums of money. Great ingenuity had been used by the Papal Court in devising schemes for exacting these funds from the church, such as the matter of expectatives, reservations, and the like. Protestants had long been made against the papal finances, usually finding a sympathetic ear on the part of the King, not so much out of his desire to help his people, as through his own increasing need of funds to meet the demands of a growing court.

We thus find laid down in the days of Louis the Ninth, some very fundamental principles on which the future development of the Gallican liberties was to take place.

(1) See formula for grant of immunity by the King to the Bishop, in Monumenta Germanica Historica Legum, Translated in "Source Book of Medieval History" by F.A. Ogg pp 211

2 Conflict of Philip the Fair and Boniface the Eighth

away the first as best he could for the saving of his own dignity.

A still greater clash between royal and papal authority came about in the reign of Philip the Fair. The dominant note of this reign was the supremacy of the will of the King and the law. In the year 1297, Philip had declared that he held his royalty from God alone, thus affirming his independence of the papal authority. The real conflict came about as the result of the interference of the Pope in the finances of the French Church. Boniface was a haughty and self-willed individual with a very high conception of his papal office and visions of a great papal empire. His judgment was too poor to sense the strength of the nationalist movement in the various countries, especially in France, and to govern himself accordingly. The first contest came after Philip had attempted to secure money from the French churches to help him in his war with England. According to well defined papal principles, (1) nothing could be paid by the Church to the State without the consent of the Pope. This rule had already been considerably loosened in France and to prevent its being any further strained, Boniface, upon this new provocation, issued the Bull *Clericis Laicos* in 1298, (2) in which he forbade the clergy to pay the taxes imposed by the King and furthermore, demanded that the officers of the State should not accept them under penalty of excommunication, a powerful weapon in papal hands. (3) Philip felt so sure that the French nation was behind him in his position that he called together the Estates General in 1302, the first meeting of it ever held in French history, and committed his cause into the hands of the people thus assembled. The King's answer to the papal bull was an edict in which he stopped the exportation of precious metals from France. (4) Thus by one blow, he shut off all papal revenues from his kingdom. The Pope was forced to yield and issued a new bull, by which he attempted to explain

- (1) See letter of Innocent the Third to a Bishop forbidding clergy to pay tithes to laymen, Migny Col. P 433f in Source Book of Mediaeval History, O. D. Thatcher and E.H. MacNeal p 214
- (2) Tosti, *Histoire de Boniface le Huit*, Vol. 1 p 395ff. Trans. in Thatcher and McNeal, Source Book of Med. Hist. p 311ff
- (3) Interdict laid on France by Innocent the Third, Penn. Trans. and reprints, in Source Book for Med. Hist. F.A.Ogg P 29 f
- (4) *Ordonnances des Rois de France de la Troisieme Race*, Tome 1p 372f

(2) For an interesting account of this see, *Histoire Littéraire de France*, Vol. 27 pp 235ff, Article on Guillaume de Nogaret

2 Conflict of Philip the Fair and Boniface the Eighth

away the first as best he could for the saving of his own dignity.

Peace reigned for a short time until a new source of difficulty arose. The Pope had appointed as his legate to France, a French bishop by the name of Bernard Saisset. This prelate had a deep hatred for the French King, because, in the development of the French kingdom, his own province had been absorbed and its independence lost. Goaded on by this bitterness, he so conducted himself as to offend greatly the King, who summoned him to appear before the state courts to answer to the charge of less-majesty. The Pope immediately took up the cause of his legate and issued two bulls, *Ausculata Fili* and *Unam Sanctam*, in which he made the most extravagant claims of papal supremacy in temporal affairs. (1) The growth of legal studies had now proceeded far enough so that the country could boast of a body of lawyers able to meet the Pope on his own grounds. Accordingly the lawyers answered these extravagant claims by declaring that the King held his powers subject to God alone, accused the Pope of heresy, crime, and simony, and appealed to a General Council of the Church. The Pope answered by a threat to pronounce the sentence of dethronement against the King. On the very day that the bull of deposition was to have been issued, Boniface was made a prisoner by a band of Philip's followers and soon after died. (2)

A development of learning took place in France at this time that did much to educate the people to a resistance of the Papacy. The two persons who had the most influence along these lines were Marsiglio of Padua and John of Jandun, the former an Italian, the latter a Frenchman, both holding high positions in the University of Paris. It was the "Defensor Pacis" of Marsiglio, a clear and keen assertion of the rights of the State over the Church, that made the greatest impress and needs to be considered.

Marsiglio lived in the latter half of the thirteenth century. He was a canon of the church of Padua and served as a counsellor of Emperor Lewis of Bavaria which quite naturally

- (1) Raynauldus anno 1302, sec. 13, *Revue des Questions Historiques*, Vol. 46, Trans. in E.H.Hendersons, *Documents of the Middle Ages*, pp 435ff
- (2) For an interesting account of this see, *Histoire Littéraire de France*, Vol. 27 pp 233ff, Article on Guillaume de Nogaret

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(1) Raynaldus anno 1268, sec. 18. Revue des Questions Historiques, Vol. 46, Trans. in E.H. Anderson, Documents of the Middle Ages, pp 435ff
(2) For an interesting account of this see, Histoire Littéraire de France, Vol. 27 pp 233ff. Article on Guillaume de Nogaret

Defensor Pacis of Marsiglio

led him into the field as a champion of the State against the Church and so successful was he that one writer says of him, "His name has been so nearly forgotten as not to appear in any of our encyclopedias, but his ideas of the independence of the State and the Church have become one of the pillars of our constitution." (1) His philosophy is based upon the teachings of Aristotle as he learned it from a Latin summary of this philosopher's work, current in his day. The key to his system is to be found in the "legislator", a definition of which he cites from Aristotle himself. "The legislator or effective cause of the law is the people, the whole body of citizens, or the majority of the body, expressing its will and choice in a general meeting of the citizens, and commanding or deciding that certain things shall be done or left undone under threat of temporal penalty or punishment." (2) The work is divided into three parts, the last one being a summary of his ideas given under the form of forty-two conclusions. The whole general tendency of the book is anti-papal and it was used by the Emperor of Bavaria in his struggle with the Avignon popes. Hence the papal party considered it unorthodox and heretical and Pope John the Twenty-Second selected five statements from it and condemned them as heresy in 1327. (3)

Marsiglio teaches that the one divine canonical Scriptures are true with the interpretations placed upon them by the common consent of Christians. General Councils alone have the power to define doubtful passages and none but the human "legislator" has the power to prohibit things permitted by the new law (New Testament). All bishops derive their authority in equal measure from Christ and one bishop cannot be over or under another in temporal or spiritual matters. Other bishops have the same right to exercise authority as the bishop of Rome, having obtained the consent of the "legislator". The prince who rules by this primary authority has jurisdiction over the persons and

- (1) The Ideas that have influenced civilization, O.D. Thatcher Vol. 4 pp. 423.
- (2) Source Book for Mediaeval History, O.D. Thatcher and E.H. McNeal pp. 323
- (3) Densinger pp 131 translated in Source Book of Mediaeval History, O.D. Thatcher and E. H. McNeal pp. 324

possessions of every single mortal of every station whether lay or clerical. The "Legislator " alone can permit marriages not permitted by the New Testament or legitimize illegitimate children. This same authority alone has the power to promote to ecclesiastical orders or judge of the qualifications of persons for these offices. The " human legislator " has the right to use ecclesiastical temporalities for the common public good after the need of priests, clergy, expenses of divine worship, and the care of the poor have been attended to. This same authority can compel the clergy within its bounds to perform divine functions and administer the sacraments. The bishop of Rome and any other ecclesiastical or spiritual minister may be advanced to a " separate ecclesiastical office " only by the " christian legislator," or the one who rules by its authority, or by the General Council of Christians and they may be suspended or deprived of office by the same authority. The Pope is pictured as the originator of discords and war by his interference in affairs not his own. The authority of the civil ruler likewise comes from the " legislator " and therefore Kings as well as ecclesiastical officers should obey its will. (1)

The "Defensor Pacis" has been called the "Greatest and most original treatise of the Middle Ages." (2) It is impossible to measure the influence of this document on the democratic movements that, at a later period, worked such changes in French life. But there can be no question but that this treatise marked a real stepping stone in the progress of ideas looking toward the protection of the interests of the French people.

Clement the Fifth was crowned Pope in 1305, his election having been assured by the support rendered to him by the French King. Beginning at this time, the papacy enters upon a period of great subserviency to the French Crown, one token of which is

- (1) Defensor Pacis, Part 3, Chapter 2, Goldast Monarchia Sancti Tomani Imperii, Translated in Source Book for Mediaeval History, by O.D.Thatcher and E.H.McNeal pp. 317ff
Summary of Defensor Pacis, Translated in, " Ideas that have influenced civilization," O.D.Thatcher Vol.4 pp.423ff
(2) Readings in European History, J.H.Robinson pp. 491

Avignon Papacy- Edict of Charles the Sixth

seen in the removal of the papal court to the city of Avignon in 1309. The disruption accompanying the Avignon papacy had no effect at all in lessening the papal claims of Supremacy but it did have a great deal to do in increasing the odium of papal money matters. A cleric connected with the Avignon papacy at that time, thus speaks of conditions, " For carrying on these exactions and gathering the gains into Camera, or Charybdis, as we may better call it, they appointed collectors in every province, those namely whom they know to be the most skillful in extracting money, ---- those in short who will neither spare nor except but would squeeze gold from a stone ---- What ills these collectors have caused, and the extent to which poor churches and peoples have been oppressed, are questions best omitted, as we never hope to do the matter justice. "(1) The conditions were so bad that Plutarch says that, " The sun in its travels sees nothing more hideous than this place on the shores of the wild Rhone." (2) These scandals increased still more after the return of the papacy to Rome and the rising tide of indignation demanded that something be done to free the country from some of these burdens.

In one of his sane moments, Charles the Sixth called an assembly of the leading men of his realm and acting upon their advice, issued an edict, (Feb. 18, 1406) forbidding the revenue producing schemes used in the appointing of prelates and reestablished the liberty of free elections. As there was considerable talk of a general council being held at this time, Charles postponed the execution of the edict, hoping that a Council would meet and, through its own efforts, the Church be reformed.

The Council of Pisa met in 1409 but no relief came from that. The Council of Constance was called together in 1414 and in spite of the fact that the Pope deserted it, continued its labors. It declared itself ecumenical and proclaimed that every Christian, the Pope included, should obey it in that which concerns the faith, the extinction of schism, and the general reform of the Church in its chief and in its members. (3)

(1) Readings in European History, J.H. Robinson Vol. 1 pp. 508f

(2) Ibid J.H. Robinson 1 pp 502f

(3) Decree of Council of Constance, Sacrosancta, from Von der Hardt, Magnum Constantiense Concilium, Vol 2 pp 98

seen in the removal of the papal court to the city of Avignon in 1309. The disposition accompanying the Avignon papacy had no effect at all in lessening the papal claims of supremacy but it did have a great deal to do in increasing the odium of papal money matters. A clerical connection with the Avignon papacy at that time, thus speaks of conditions, "For carrying on these exactions and gathering the gains into Camers, or Chartrades, as we may better call it, they appointed collectors in every province those namely whom they knew to be the most skillful in extracting money, --- those in short who will neither spare nor except but would squeeze gold from a stone --- What ill these collectors have caused, and the extent to which poor churches and peoples have been oppressed, are questions best omitted, as we never hope to do the matter justice." (1) The conditions were so bad that Ritzsch says that, "The sun in its travels sees nothing more hideous than this place on the shores of the wild Rhone." (2) These scandals increased still more after the return of the papacy to Rome and the rising tide of indignation demanded that something be done to free the country from some of these burdens.

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- (1) Readings in European History, J.H. Robinson Vol. 1 pp. 508-509
- (2) Ibid J.H. Robinson 1 pp 508-509
- (3) Decree of Council of Constance, Sacrosanctae, from Von der Hardt, Magnam Constantiensis Concilium, Vol 2 pp 98

Edict of Charles the Sixth- Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges

Although the French were pleased with the declaration of the Council in proclaiming its supremacy over the Pope, there came to them no relief from their burdens. Goaded on by new irritations over the papal collection of annates, Charles published the Edict of 1406 and Parliament verified it, April 13, 1418. A change in controlling powers at Paris, caused the edict soon to be overthrown and a worthless concordat granted by the Council of Constance to be accepted as the law of the land.

Conditions continued to grow worse and a new Council was summoned to meet at Basle in 1431. A new Pope, Eugenius the Fourth, was elected soon after, who being unfavorable to the Council tried to dissolve it. The sessions were continued in spite of the opposition from Rome and some attempts were made at reform. The Pope denied the validity of the decrees and asserted his own supremacy over the council. (1) Considerable dispute arose as to the validity of the council. France took a definite stand that it was legitimate and hastened to reap some of its fruits. Accordingly, Charles the Seventh called a synod to meet at Bourges, May 1 "1438, which drew up the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges (2) and the King declared it binding on the French Church. According to this new charter, General Councils were to be held every ten years, the Pope was forbidden to reserve any of the great ecclesiastical appointments, elections were to be held by the rightful patrons, and the institution should be by the Metropolitan. Expectancies and reservations were to cease, appeals to Rome were forbidden except in very important cases. Annates and first fruits were no longer to be paid to the Pope. Certain regulations were laid down regarding services in the churches. One thing was very apparent, namely that the French were determined on reform even though it might bring about a rupture with the Holy See. The enfeebling of French Liberties was not to be allowed.

The Pragmatic Sanction was a great blow to the Pope

- (1) Bull Execrabili; Translated in Source Book of Mediaeval History, O.D. Thatchar and E. H. MacNeal pp 332
- (2) Ordonnances des rois de France, Vol. 13, pp 267 ff Translated in part in Source Book of Mediaeval History, F. A. Ogg pp 395ff: Collection des meilleurs dissertations, notices, et traites particuliers relatifs a l'histoire de France composee en grande partie de pieces rares, ou qui n'ont jamais ete publiees seprament, J. Leber Vol. 3 Article on Pragmatic Sanction

Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges

and he soon sent his ambassador to Charles urging its revocation. The King steadfastly refused, declaring that he would inviolably observe it in his realm. This declaration hardly proved true for, while Charles was instrumental in securing this document for his church, yet he was not always zealous in its observance, when his own ends were at stake. This is seen in the fact that he begged Calixtus the Third to reserve the Bishopric of Tournay for one of his favorites, and demanded from Eugenius the Fourth, the Archbishopric of Bourges for the son of his treasurer. The arrangement provided for by the Pragmatic sanction of Bourges was undoubtedly, not wholly satisfactory to anybody. Surely it was not to the Pope for Pius the Second thus speaks of it." The prelates of France, who thus thought they were to be made free by the Pragmatic Sanction were reduced to the most entire slavery and became the creatures of the laity. They were compelled to answer in all causes before the Parliament, to confer benefices at the will of the King, or other princes or nobles, and to ordain unfit persons----- Bishops and other prelates, venerable priests, were hurried to the public prisons; estates belonging to the Church and goods of the clergy were seized on slight grounds, by a decree of the secular judge. The Pragmatic Sanction gave rise to much impiety, sacrilege, heresy, and indecorum, which were either ordered or permitted by the ungrateful King." (1) The facts are that the Church did often suffer at the hands of the King but the people preferred royal oppression to that of the Roman Curia.

Great changes had been taking place in France during the period of time covered by this chapter. The old order of feudalism was passing away and a strongly centralized monarchy had come to take its place. It spoke well for the future of the country that in this period of transition, certain great principles had been laid down to govern the future relations with the papacy. Under the tutelage of these principles a strong national church had been built, independent in its attitude toward Rome, filled with a strong moral impulse calling for the eradication of the great evils that marred the Church of that day, and ready

(1) A History of the Papacy from the Great Schism to the Sack of Rome. M. Creighton Vol. 3 pp. 273

Conclusion

apparently, to go out to a great and glorious future. What would have been the religious history of France if these principles could have remained in force and have been faithfully observed? One can only conjecture for this was not to be.

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Chapter 3

Undermining Gallican Liberties

Louis the Eleventh and the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges-
The Concordat of Bologna-Council of Trent-The Religious Wars-
Protestantism-Henry the Fourth

France had made a good start toward the maintenance of an independent National Catholic Church but much of what had been gained thus far was soon to be lost. The Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, as a guarantee against papal tyranny was destined to be short lived. Upon the ascension to the throne of Louis the Eleventh, Pope Pius the Second saw his opportunity to get rid of this hated instrument. Louis had been out of harmony with his father during his reign and, during most of that time, had lived away from the French court. For these reasons, he had very little regard for what his father had accomplished. Recognizing this advantage, the Pope approached Louis concerning a revocation of the act. Louis sent his ambassador, Geoffrey, Bishop of Arras, to Rome with the message that he would comply with the Holy Father's request on the condition that the Pope in turn, would assist the House of Anjou in its attempt to secure the throne of Naples and would also establish a legate in France to have charge of the nomination to benefices. Geoffrey, hearing on the way, that the Pope was to make him a cardinal, was so overjoyed that, upon his arrival, he told the Pope of Louis' willingness to revoke the Pragmatic Sanction but forgot to name the conditions. The Pope was so delighted that he sent a bull to the King, thanking him for what he had done and putting him on a pedestal alongside of Constantine and Charlemagne. Louis was greatly touched by the words that came from the Vatican and, against the advice of his counsellors, issued a decree suppressing this popular charter of liberty. (1)

The people of France were much incensed and tried to bring about its restoration but the King stood by his act, although, when he failed to secure the fulfillment of the conditions, he saw and rued his mistake. Through the years that followed, even up to the time of the Revolution, petitions continued to come in to Parliament, urging the overthrow of the Concordat and a return to the Pragmatic Sanction. (2) The selfish interests of

(1) Les Quatre Concordats, par M de Pradt, Ancien Archiveque de Malines, Tome 1, pp. 235ff

(2) See Arrest rendu en la cour de Parliament given in " Rapport du clerge aux la Royauti", L.Mention pp. 84ff

Concordat of Bologna

the kings and the opposition of the papacy trampled under their feet, the will of the French people and prevented this from ever being accomplished.

After this betrayal of the Gallican Church by Louis, the papacy gradually increased its influence until, by the year 1501, the Ambassador to France could write to Cardinal Amboise, "The French do not at all understand politics or they would not permit the Church to become so large." At the same time that the papacy was increasing its power in France, the French kings were trying to extend the French kingdom by military enterprises in Italy, but without permanent success. When Francis the First became King of France in 1515, one of the first things that he did was to make an invasion of Italy in an attempt to enforce French claims and he won a great victory at Marignano. Jean Barrillon was the Secretary of Duprat, the Chancellor of France and the French King's ambassador in negotiating the Concordat of Bologna. He writes in his Journal that Francis was approached by the representatives of Pope Leo the Tenth during the early part of the Italian campaign. The Pope called upon King Francis the First, the Parliament of Paris, and the Gallican Church to show why the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges should not be abrogated by the Holy See and the Lateran Council.(1) Some time later, another message came from the Pope saying that he would like to meet Francis before he returned to Paris and that he would come to Bologna for that purpose, if it was agreeable to the French King. Francis accepted the Pope's invitation and went to Bologna, where the two held a conference relating to a new agreement to govern the French Church. Having settled the main principles of the Concordat, Francis returned to France and left Duprat to work out the remaining details. Before its dissolution, the Lateran Council approved and confirmed the agreement.

This Concordat was in reality, a personal bargain between King Francis the First and Pope Leo the Tenth, by means of which both were to profit at the expense of the Gallican Church and its liberties. The Holy See was bitterly opposed to the Pragmatic Sanction because it rested upon the power of a General Council, whose supremacy it

(1) Journal de Jean Barillon publie pour la Societe de
L'Histoire de France par Pierre de Vaissiere, Vol.1 pp.141ff

Concordat of Bologna

upheld. It was further opposed to that instrument because it had been the means of making the Church of France too independent of Rome. The kings of France had likewise found this famous document possessed of elements that were objectionable to them, especially in the light of their growing autocracy. With its free elections and institution by the Metropolitan, the Church could maintain a very independent attitude toward both the papacy and the throne. Thus both of these powers had found these guarantees of the liberties of the Gallican Church, a common enemy. It is not surprising, under such circumstances, that they tried to destroy them in their new agreement.

This new Concordat (1) confirmed the abolition of the Pragmatic Sanction but maintained a number of its features, such as the abolition of expectatives and reservations, restriction of appeals to Rome, etc. The Pope was rewarded for the concessions that he made, by a renewal of his former privilege of collecting the annates and virtually by an abandonment of the tenet that councils are superior to popes. The fundamental feature of the agreement is found in the new method of filling ecclesiastical offices, a provision that stripped the Gallican Church of its most precious privilege, doing away with election, barring a few exceptions, and giving the power of nomination to the King and that of institution to the Pope.

In the month of April, 1517, the King received at Paris, ambassadors of the Pope with papal approbation of the Concordat of Bologna and the revocation of the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges. This revocation carried with it, the excommunication of all persons who should, in the future, make use of the Pragmatic. The King presented the Concordat to the Parliament of Paris for its publication and sent Duprat before that body to explain the royal reasons for agreeing to the Concordat and the revocation of the Pragmatic Sanction. In his presentation

- (1) Les Quatre Concordats, par M. de Pradt, Vol. 1 pp. 229ff
also "Dissertation sur L'Histoire de France, Leber Vol. 3
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Conseil.

Concordat of Bologna

of the case, Duprat showed how the country had been brought into disorder through the opposition of the papacy and other nations to the Pragmatic, the dangers that France had faced from the League which had been formed against her under the tutelage of the Pope and from which it had been rescued by Francis' great victory at Marignano. He also depicted the dangers that would come upon France should a new League be formed against her with the possibility of being placed under an interdict and other evils. All these things might be expected if the country persisted in upholding the councils of Basle and Constance and the Pragmatic Sanction. He praised the good will of the Pope in granting this new Concordat with its approval of most of the articles found in the revoked document. As regards the matter of filling ecclesiastical offices, the Church had used various methods at different times in its history, the one made use of in the Concordat seeming to be the one best suited for that time. Duly considering all these things, he urged Parliament, in the name of the King, to publish the Concordat. (1)

The Parliament of Paris refused to accede to the King's request even after they had been ordered to do so under threat that, should they persist in their opposition, the King might be led to banish the opponents from the land. The Parliament resisted every effort of the King to bring about the publication of the document until further opposition seemed useless and even dangerous to the welfare of the country. On the 12th of March, 1517, the King sent a message to Parliament demanding that, as obedient subjects, they should do what the King had ordered or else he would be compelled to resort to extremities that they would regret. The new threat seemed to menace the very existence of Parliament itself, the destruction of which would have been a great blow to the popular cause. As further resistance held out no hopes of resulting in a return to the Pragmatic Sanction and the old order for which it stood, Parliament submitted in form and published the Concordat but in the following qualified

- (1) Journal de Jean Barrillon, publie pour la Societe de L'Histoire de France par Pierre de Vaissiere, Vol 2 pp. 5ff

(1) Les Quatre Concordats, Par M. de Pradt for an Ordinance de Parlement, Tome 1, pp. 259f

Concordat of Bologna

manner. (1) " It has protested and does protest, as much in general as in particular, conjointly and individually, that they have not been nor are they now in their liberty and freedom, and if the publication takes place, it is neither by the order nor with the consent of the court but at the express command of the King and under duress as explained above." They further went on to say that they had no intention of judging cases in conformity with the Concordat but would guard the sacred decrees of the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges as they had done before its revocation. They went still further and made appeal anew to the Pope " better informed" , to the first general council, and to every one else to whom this matter was a concern.

The Concordat divided the country into two warring camps. The one was bitterly opposed to the Concordat, demanded protection for the Gallican Liberties, and was hostile to the King. The other, either through indifference toward the old ideas of Gallicanism or the active support of Ultramontaniam, stood ready to support the monarch. These two hostile elements persisted on down through the years, even through the great Jansenist controversy of the 17th century.

Much confusion marked the filling of vacant Sees in the new order of things. Oftentimes there were two nominees for the same office, the one appointed by the King and the other elected by the patrons of the Church. In these cases, Parliament always took the side of the one bearing the mandate of the Church.

The new agreement was not fully satisfactory to either the Pope or the King. The Holy See always stood ready to break its terms if it found advantage in so doing. The King was always quick to condemn these infractions of the Pope except when he himself was equally a benefactor, as when the Pope granted him the privilege of nominating to certain benefices that had been reserved for free election. The King on the other hand, frequently broke the terms of the agreement when he found it to his profit to do so, and then the Pope stood just as ready to condemn him. The general outcome of the Concordat was as intended, adva-

(1) Les Quatre Concordats, Par M. de Pradt for an Ordonnance de Parlement, Tome 1, pp. 269f

Concordat of Bologna

tageous to both the monarchy and the papacy at the expense of the liberties of the Church.

The new method of filling benefices brought into the Church of France a body of prelates, subservient to the will of the papacy and the throne, especially the throne, and entirely out of sympathy with the French nation. The evil of this feature was greatly enhanced by the regulations regarding the character of men required to fill the bishoprics. According to the stipulations, the King must not appoint an ecclesiastic, less than twenty-seven years of age, nor one not a possessor of a doctorate or a licentiate in theology from an accredited university. The evil of this rule was that it was not made to apply to the princely class with the result that the ranks of the higher clergy came to be filled with persons tied to the throne in relationship and sympathy, and, almost invariably, without any religious fitness for their task. Abetted by this state of affairs, the division in the ranks of the clergy increased and a bitterness of feeling was engendered between the higher and the lower clergy and likewise between the ecclesiastical hierarchy and the real French nation that had a distinct bearing on the Revolution.

The first session of the Council of Trent was held on the 13th of March 1545, the final one was dissolved December 5th 1563. The French had comparatively little to do with this General Council of the Church for several reasons. The political rivalry between the King of France and the Emperor of Germany, the opposition of many of the higher clergy of France to a reform that would effect their own way of living, and the opposition of the old spirit of Gallicanism that still lived on in that country were among the most prominent of these reasons. The outcome of the council was so important however, in determining the future character of Catholicism that it must not be passed without some mention.

The Council had been called in answer to a demand that would not be silenced. Something must be done to reform the Church and bring the Protestants back into the fold. The Holy See distrusted a Council and was only ready to call one when there seem-

- (1) Gallican Church to the Revolution, H. Jervis pp.186 Vol. 1
- (2) History of the Council of Trent, L. Bungener pp. 540f
- (3) Ibid pp.567
- (4) Gallican Church to the Revolution, H. Jervis Vol. 1 pp.208

ed to be nothing else possible. It was only too ready to prorogue it when the first opportunity came. Two sessions of this Council were held without any important results. It was only when Pope Pius the Fourth recognized the danger of a threatened National Council of the French to settle their own religious problem, that he called the third session in 1562. The interference of a purely National Council in vital religious matters was a very dangerous thing in the eyes of Rome as the remark of the Pope to the French ambassador plainly shows. "If every prince were to take upon himself to hold Councils in his dominions, the Church would soon become a scene of universal confusion." (1) When the French representatives did finally go to this session, they were armed with instructions to watch over the interests of the Gallican Church. They also carried a list of thirty-four articles which they presented to the Council calling for a reformation within the Church. The import of these articles was that the authority of General Councils must be upheld in the face of papal aggression, annates should be abolished, and other glaring abuses in the Church corrected. They failed to gain their end and the Council concluded its work completely subservient to the Holy See. The Council petitioned the Holy Pontiff to confirm its decrees saying that; "whatever expressions and whatever clauses might have been put into the decrees, the Council meant that it should not be, and that it could not be interpreted, in any case, to the prejudice of the authority of the Holy See." (2) The Pope was granted the exclusive power of interpreting all of the acts of the Council and thus implied sanction was given to what other Councils had denied, namely that the Roman Pontiff is superior to General Councils.

The results of the Council were very bitterly condemned in France and while the French Church gradually accepted its decrees as binding, yet they were never officially declared by the French government. (3) Even when provision was being made for the absolution of Henry the Fourth and one requirement was to be that the decrees of the Council of Trent should be received and executed in France, the French ambassadors attached this significant qualifying clause, "with the exception of any article which could not be executed without causing disturbance in the kingdom." (4)

- (1) Gallican Church to the Revolution, H. Jervis pp.138 Vol. 1
- (2) History of the Council of Trent, L. Bungener pp. 540f
- (3) Ibid pp.537
- (4) Gallican Church to the Revolution, H. Jervis Vol. 1 pp.203

Wars of Religion-Protestantism

The Colloquy of Poissy was a National Council of the French churches held under that name in an attempt not to offend the Pope and the papal representatives in charge of the Council of Trent who were bitterly opposed to a French Council. The Colloquy met in 1561 and its purpose was to try and solve some of the religious problems that were throwing the nation into disorder. Chief among these problems was that of bringing about peace between the Protestants and Catholics. It failed in its purpose and within a few months afterwards, the so-called "Massacre of Vassy" took place, followed by the breaking out of civil war. This marks the beginning of the Wars of Religion which were to disrupt France for a period of about forty years.

The key to this conflict is contained in the words of Catherine de Medici, the Queen-Mother of King Charles the Ninth, when she declared, "that it is impossible for two religions to exist side by side." (1) The Queen-Mother and her royal son took the side of the Catholics, not because of any particular antipathy to the Protestants but probably because it held out the more hope of bringing peace to the nation. It was decreed that Protestantism should be destroyed and the Wars of Religion were the result.

The demand for reform in France had assumed such proportions that it was manifestly the will of the French people that something be done. Unquestionably the earnest and honest insistence of Protestantism on this matter, drew to it a great many adherents who were, in other ways, not much in sympathy with the movement. That this branch of Christendom was in marked favor at this time, that there was real concern among Catholics lest it should become the religion of France, and that it was looked upon as a powerful enemy of the evils of Papalism, is without question; and yet even to this day, the numbers of Protestants in France is almost negligible. If France wished to be freed from the interference

(1) Cambridge Modern History, Vol. 3 pp. 2

3 French Protestantism

of Rome in her affairs and here she had a powerful force working toward that end, how can one account for Protestantism's apparently complete failure?

Let it be said in the first place that Protestantism never did fail in France. It is a fact worthy of notice, that from the days of its beginning to our own times, the influence of this body of Christians has been far out of all proportions to its numbers. No one can study the growth of public sentiment leading up to the Revolution, nor the story of the struggle against Papalism in the Nineteenth Century, without taking into account this important element. There are various reasons why the number of Protestants remained small. The first is what some have called the magical attachment of the French people to the Holy See with its symbol of Christian unity. Protestant Theology made very little impression on the mass of French people who had no complaint against the Mediaeval system and felt the need of nothing further than a reformation within the Church and the freeing of France from Papal interference in temporal affairs.

Consider furthermore that Protestantism in the religious wars showed the same intolerance and used the same kind of lawless, destructive, and deplorable methods as its opponents. This weakened its moral impulse which should have been its greatest asset.

Add to these facts that French Protestantism had certain unfortunate characteristics that injured its chances. Unlike Protestantism in some countries, the movement here drew the bulk of its members from among the merchants, artisans, and traders, members of the bourgeoisie class rather than the laboring. The wealth and great influence of these people created jealousies and causes of friction that came to be reflected in the movement itself.

The stronghold of French Protestantism was in the South of France, in provinces that had been forcibly brought into subjection to the French Crown and as a consequence, certain elements among them were imbued with considerable hostility toward the national government. This together with the fact that

(1) *Essais et Etudes*, Par E. de Lavergne, Vol. 1. pp. 284
(2) *Ibid* 1. pp. 294f

French Protestantism

Protestantism drew into its folds a great many people who were not Protestant at heart but were discontented with their civil conditions, gave the movement a political tinge that brought upon it greater hostility from governmental sources.

But what has perhaps even deeper significance than any of the above considerations was the general relationship of Protestantism to the idea of autocracy which was rapidly reaching its zenith in the French government at this time. Laveleye says in his essay on Protestantism and Catholicism (1), "The natural government of Protestant people is representative government. The government congenial to Catholic people is the despotic government." Again he says, (2) " ' We can defend our villages against the King without a King, ' said the Huguenots and there is no doubt but that if they had triumphed, they would have established a constitutional monarchy as in England or a republic as in the Netherlands." Whatever sympathies King Henry the Fourth had with Protestantism, it was not with any such political theories for he entered into the autocratic development with no apparent reserve. The Catholic leaders upheld royal autocracy with the greatest fervency so as between these two religions, it is hard to see how the King could have done otherwise than oppose Protestantism.

When one has considered all of these things, he has the ground laid for understanding the great persecutions through which these people had to pass in France. Their sufferings were terrible, thousands were killed, while other thousands left the country rather than face the terrors that life in France meant to them. The largest number of all made formal submission to Rome in order to save themselves and their families. A great opportunity was lost to France. Had Protestantism succeeded, the country would have been saved from much of the trouble that was to grow out of interference from Rome and vitality would have been added to French religious life, thereby greatly altering her later religious history.

The unexpected happened here as is often the case and

- (1) *Essais and Etudes*, Par E. de Laveleye, Vol. 1. pp. 384
(2) *Ibid* 1. pp. 392f

the greatest enemy of papalism furnished an instrument that was to lead the country into a still further enslavement to the Holy See. This instrument was King Henry of Navarre. When Henry the Third was murdered by a Dominican friar in 1589, the next in line for the French throne was the Protestant King of Navarre. Not long previous to this, Pope Sixtus the Fifth had issued a bull against Henry, in which, after having treated in a very lofty fashion, the supreme power of the Apostolic See over all earthly potentates, he had proclaimed the King a heretic and an abettor of heresy, and, for these offenses, declared him deprived of his kingdom. His heirs were pronounced forever incapable of succeeding to the throne of France and his subjects were released from their oath of homage and forbidden to obey their King, under penalty of excommunication. (1) As a consequence of this papal interference, when Henry came to the French throne, he found himself opposed by the whole Ultramontane party. When the struggle had continued for some time, King Henry apparently came to the conclusion that there was very little chance of his ever becoming King and retaining his Protestant affiliation. Accordingly he made his submission to the Church of Rome. The abjuration of Calvinism was made in the Abbey Church of St Dennis, July 26, 1593 and the King was provisionally absolved by the Archbishop of Bourges. The Pope's legate declared the proceedings null and void as the French prelate had acted without the authority of Rome. The Pope continued to denounce the King in the most bitter terms and refused the absolution that the envoys of the King went to him to secure and used his influence in favor of the Catholic Philip the Second, in his claim to the French crown. During this period of time, two attempts were made to assassinate King Henry and the deeds were defended on the grounds that he was no true member of the Church, and not recognized by the Pope. For these reasons, his murder would be considered lawful and meritorious. (1) The thing that the Pope was attempting to force, was to bring the King to the place where he would have to seek, not only absolution, but "rehabilitation," that is, the restitution

(1) History of the Church of France to the Revolution, H. Jervis, Vol 1. pp. 201

of his rights as a temporal sovereign, which would have implied a recognition of the papal claim of the right to deprive kings of their powers and to restore them at will. This King Henry refused to concede. (1) Pope Sixtus, probably fearing lest too stubborn resistance might force France to do what England had already done, establish a national church, gave in and bestowed upon the King's envoys, the desired absolution.

The Protestants were very bitter over their betrayal by the King. But the Edict of Nantes (2) which assured to them partial religious liberty, went a long way to make amends. King Henry the Fourth's reasons for issuing the edict may have partially sprung from his sympathy for the Protestants, so far as that was real and not political. For the most part, he was impelled by the desire for political peace and the stabilizing of his own position on the throne.

As a result of the King's submission to the Church, of his humbly seeking approval from the Pope for his taking of the French Crown, and finally of his later and earnest devotion to the Holy See, a powerful instrument was put into the hands of the Ultramontanes for promoting the most exaggerated claims of the papal throne. This possibility was increased still further by the restoration of the Jesuits by decree of the French King. Several attempts were made to take the life of King Henry the Fourth. The outcome was that during the latter part of his reign, he stood in great fear of being assassinated by Jesuit sympathizers. This probably led him to feel that the best way to escape such a fate was to make the Jesuits his debtors, hence the decree permitting their open return to France. (3) Thus was brought back into full activity in the country, an organization that was to do more to overthrow Gallican ideals and establish papal supremacy, than all other forces combined. In spite of all of his admirable qualities as a ruler, we must conclude that Henry the Fourth, like Francis the First, shamelessly betrayed the cause of the Gallican Liberties.

(1) History of France, F. Guizot Vol. 5 pp89

(2) Original copy of Edict of Nantes in L'Histoire des derniers troubles de France sous les reges des Roys, Tres-Christian Henri le Troisieme, Roy de France et de Navarre et de Pologne et Henri le Quattorze Roy de France et de Navarre

(3) History of France, F. Guizot Vol. 5 ppl40

Conclusion

The foundations that had been laid during the earlier period of French history, for an independent, national, and Catholic church were badly shattered during the century and a half covered by this chapter. The revocation of the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges had given the first great blow. The Concordat of Bologna, not only sanctioned all of the evils that had come in along with the revocation of the Pragmatic Sanction but added some new and still greater ones. New opportunities for papal financial abuses were opened up and, what was even worse, the ecclesiastics were brought under the direct patronage of both Pope and King, especially the latter. This resulted in a body of churchman more anxious to please those upon whom their privileges depended than to conserve the interests of the people and the Church at large. Divisions crept into the ranks of the clergy, especially between the higher and lower clergy. Pluralities increased as did also the filling of benefices by absentee prelates. The work of the Church was neglected while the higher clergy sought special privileges and glory at the royal court. The betrayal of Protestantism by Henry the Fourth was the blow which determined that France was not to benefit by what that branch of the Church might have done for it. His submission to the papacy and assistance to the Jesuits laid the country open to a new wave of papal dominance that was strongly felt in the years that immediately followed.

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The religious life of Louis the Fourteenth was fervent but not of the highest kind. His was the formal religion of his Jesuit confessor rather than any heart convictions of the mystic. In fact, Fenelon charges him with being "out of the way of truth and righteousness and, in consequence, out of the way of the gospel." (1) Madame de Maintenon writes to the Archbishop of Paris, "The king will never fail to keep a station or a fast but he will not understand that one ought to humble himself and to be filled with a true spirit of penitence, and that we must clothe ourselves in sackcloth and ashes and pray for peace." (2) The religious policy of Louis finds illustration in that, while he abstained his religious with the Holy See almost to the point of offending a French national church, yet by his "ardent zeal for the faith," he was raised by the Roman Church almost to the point of sainthood. He nearly destroyed Protestantism and bitterly fought every heresy within the Church, thus performing the

(1) The History of the papacy in the Nineteenth Century, Bledwin Vol. 1 pp. 2.

(2) Ibid pp. 3.

Chapter 4

The Supremacy of Gallicanism

Gallicanism and the Autocracy of Louis the Fourteenth-Louis the Fourteenth and His Religion- Gallicanism as a National Policy-Events Leading to the Gallican Decree-the Gallican Decrees-Conflict over the Gallican Decrees-Jansenism and Jesuitism and the Conflict-Banishment of the Jesuits

We have now reached the time when French "Gallicanism" received its highest expression. We have noted some of the early manifestations of the Gallican spirit and how the movement was compromised by the selfish interests of the Crown. At no time, during all of these centuries had the papacy relinquished any of its claims over the French Church, but now it had met a powerful opponent in the growing autocracy of the national government. When the reign of Louis the Fourteenth is reached, autocracy is at its height. "L'etat c'est moi," was the theory of this monarch and he was determined that no one should stand in the way of its realization, whether that person might be a commoner, noble, or member of the clergy. With such a man at the head of the nation, Gallicanism, so far as it related to curbing the power of the papacy, was sure to find an enthusiastic champion.

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(1) The History of the papacy in the Nineteenth Century,
Nielsen Vol. 1 pp. 2.

(2) Ibid pp. 2.

4 Louis the Fourteenth and His Religion-Gallicanism as a National Policy

most indispensable service to the papacy and the Jesuits. The aim of the King was not so much religious as secular. It grew out of a desire of advancing his own absolutism by establishing the unity of the Church. All divisions of every kind were inconsistent with his theory of government and therefore must cease. There could be no doubt as to what religion fitted most readily into his political scheme. Bousset as a spokesman of French Catholicism was ready to recognize the divine right of the King to supremacy. (1) Such could not be found in the teachings of Protestantism. Political expediency was the determining factor in the religious policy of this great King.

The program of Gallicanism may be grouped around two propositions, namely that the King of France was independent of the papacy in secular affairs and that the spiritual authority of the Pope was limited by tradition and the canons of the Church and should be subordinated to the acts of General Councils. (2) The King was looked upon as the protector of the National Church and had the right to call together national and provincial councils to legislate for the Church. The great majority of the French nation had consistently stood behind these ideas and as the nation had developed, they had come to form a sort of national policy. They had been steadily upheld by the parliaments even at times when the royal power was opposed, a sign of the independence that characterized these bodies. The greater number of the higher clergy had also favored them, partly because of a preference for an aristocratic government over the Church rather than that of papal autocracy and partly because they were the creatures of the monarchy.

We have noted how the Concordat of Bologna had opened up the way for the development of a class of prelates dependent on the throne. The effect of this provision had now become very manifest. Let it however, be said to the credit of Louis the Fourteenth, that he did not abuse this privilege to the extent of appointing unworthy men as was done later. It is probably true, that at no other time in all the history of France, was there such an array of great men in the French Church.

(1) Essais et Etudes, E. Lavaleye, Vol. 1 pp. 382

(2) Declaration du clerge de France, pp. 246

Discours sur les Libertes des L'Eglise Gallicane
par M. L' Abbe Fleury

The definite promulgation of the Gallican ideas passed through a gradual development. In 1663, the Sorbonne fearlessly declared that the Pope did not have any authority over the most christian king in secular matters and that he could not take any action that conflicted with the laws of the French Church. At the same time, it repudiated the idea that the Pope's judgment was above a General Council or could be considered infallible without the consent of the Church. (1) Louis confirmed these declarations and forbade that anything else should be taught in the realm. Following this, the same body censured several works of an ultramontane character and, with the consent of the King, the Parliament of Paris opposed the publication of the bull that Alexander the Seventh issued in condemnation of this censure. The climax of the whole affair came about over the old French claim to the right of the regale, i. e. the right of the King to receive the revenues of vacant bishoprics and to appoint to benefices belonging to them. This right had long been held in the older provinces of the kingdom and Louis the Fourteenth wished to extend it to all others. Most of the French bishops in these places assented with the exception of two. These based their refusal on the ground that the regale was an invasion of the spiritual rights of the Church. After the death of one of these bishops, the chapter proceeded to the election of a successor, a man of similar views to the one deceased. Pope Innocent the Eleventh upheld the chapter and Louis the Fourteenth, in great indignation, called an assembly of the Gallican Clergy to meet in Paris, March 19, 1682. This assembly drew up as an answer to the papal interference, the four famous articles that embody the Gallican claim.

The man who wrote these articles was Bossuet, probably the most powerful leader in the French Church of that day, a noble man, possessed of high ideals, and a most popular prelate. It may be safely assumed that the views held by him, were those of a great majority of the French nation and that these articles are an expression of the mind of the nation rather than something forced upon an unwilling people by an autocratic king.

The decree opened with the preliminary declaration that, "there are many who labor to subvert the Gallican decrees and

(1) Declaration du clerge de France, pp. 263

Discours sur les libertes de L'Eglise Gallicane,
Par M. L'Abbe Fleury

The Gallican Decrees

liberties which our ancestors defended with so much zeal, and their foundations which rest upon the sacred canons and the traditions of the Fathers. Nor are there wanting those who, under pretext of these liberties, seek to derogate the primacy of St. Peter and of the Roman Pontiffs, his successors, from the obedience which all Christians owe to them, and from the majesty of the Apostolic See, in which the faith is taught and the unity of the Church preserved." Then followed the four articles the substance of which is as follows: (1) Kings and princes are not by the law of God subject to any ecclesiastical power with respect to their temporal government. Their subjects cannot be released from the duty of obeying them nor be absolved from the oath of allegiance. (2) The decrees of the Council of Constance are authoritative. (3) The Apostolic authority must be regulated by the canons of the Church, enacted by the spirit of God and consecrated by the reverence of the whole world. The ancient rules, customs, and institutions received by the realm and the Church of France remain inviolable. (4) The Pope has the principal place in the deciding of questions of faith, and his decrees extend to every church, but his judgment is not irreversible until confirmed by the consent of the Church. (1)

The meaning of these articles is very plain, with the exception of the second and fourth. The Council of Constance had made declaration(2) at several of its sessions that when a general council had been legitimately assembled by the order of the Holy Spirit, and not necessarily by the order of the Pope, and was truly representative of the universal Church, that whatever it did in the way of defining faith, extirpating heresy, or bringing about the reformation of the Church in general, was equally binding on the Pope and the subordinate members of the church. Some of the popes had denied the validity of this council but through all the years, the French had affirmed its authority. The fourth article is a denial of the infallibility of the Pope, a matter that the French were very much interested in, in that, as they argued, if the Pope is infallible, his decrees regarding princes must be right and their theory of non-interference in temporal affairs overthrown.

(1) Declaration du Clerge de France, pp. 1 ff

(2) The decree Sacrosancta passed by the Council of Constance April 6, 1415. Trans. Readings in European History, J.H. Robinson Vol. 1 pp. 511ff

The Gallican Decrees

The declaration, having been approved by the King, was ordered registered by Parlement and was later published as an edict,(1) which enjoined that these articles should be taught in all the colleges and seminaries, and subscribed to by all the professors of Theology before they entered upon their duties. The archbishops and bishops were at the same time, ordered to do all in their power to see that they were properly enforced throughout their dioceses.

The underlying principles of these articles were not looked upon as anything new but merely as a definite statement of the French heritage from the past.(2) Many governmental regulations had, under various forms, established them as a part of national law. The royal courts had taken over many cases that at one time, had gone unquestionably within the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts. The inquisition had been abolished as an offense to royal authority. No provincial council could be held within the kingdom without the consent of the King. No bishop could depart from the realm by order of the Pope, without authorization from the throne. No strangers were allowed to possess benefices in France. Monasteries and other orders whose head lived in Rome or some other country, must be represented by a vicar in France. The exercise of any authority of the Pope that encroached on temporal authority, such as the legitimization of bastards, was forbidden. Papal bulls, excepting those that were considered regular, could not be brought into the land without Letters Patent from the King. Papal nuncios were not looked upon as having any authority in France and legates had their powers limited and were not permitted to enter the country without royal permission. These and many other like regulations show how the spirit of these articles had become imbedded in the very fabric of the national life.

As is manifest in the preliminary declaration, the Gallicans believed, along with all other Catholics, that the bishop of Rome was the successor of Peter and, as such, the divinely appointed head of the Church. It was their belief also that the bishops received their authority from Jesus Christ and not

(1) See Edit du Roi, Declaration du Clerge de France pp. 9f

(2) Discours sur les Libertes de L'Eglise de France, Fleury in Declaration du Clerge de France, pp. 282f

The Gallican Decrees

from the Pope. The Universal Church not the Pope was looked upon as infallible, and its decisions were accepted as dictated by the Holy Spirit. The council was therefore considered as above the Pope.(1)

Over against these maxims of the Gallican Church, perhaps it would be well to state the attitude of the Papal or Ultramontane party. They held: that all ecclesiastical authority resides principally in the Pope, who alone receives his authority direct from God: bishops and councils receive their authority from the Pope; the Pope alone can decide questions of faith; he alone can make such ecclesiastical laws as it pleases him and dispense with those already made; he has absolute control of all church property; he renders account for his conduct to God alone; he judges all others, but he himself is judged by no person. From these general maxims (2), it was concluded that all temporal and spiritual authority relates to him alone and that he is able to dispose of crowns. Such is the picture of Ultramontanism as Bishop Fleury, confessor of Louis the Fourteenth, painted it in his day. His words hold good as a delineation of the beliefs of this party, even down through the nineteenth century.

In spite of the fact that the Gallican Articles were but a restatement of past belief and that their expression was made in moderate language, the Pope was very bitter over them and called together a group of cardinals and other prelates to consider their censure. For a time, it looked as though the bitterness of the Holy Father would carry him so far that a rupture between France and the papacy might be brought about. But the Pope calmed down and instead of censuring the articles, simply refused bulls of institution to all ecclesiastics who were members of the Assembly of 1682. Demonstration was now to be made of the power that had been put into the Pope's hands by the Concordat of Bologna when it gave to him the right of institution. The Pope persistently adhered to his resolve, until about one-third of all the dioceses of France were without pastors.(3)

(1) Declaration du Clerge de France, pp. 1f

(2) Discours sur les Libertes de L'Eglise Gallicane Par

L'Abbe Fleury, given in Dissertation sur L'Histoire de France, pp. 200ff derived from the Dictatus Gregorii.

(3) See Arrêt rendu en la cour du Parlement, given in Documents relatifs aux rapports au Clerge aux la Royaute de 1682 a 1705, L. Mention pp. 87

This went along until the King decided that, inasmuch as the Pope declined to institute some of the bishops, he would no longer ask him to perform that function for the others. The bishops nominated by the crown, entered into the revenues and temporal prerogatives of their sees, but, according to the terms of the Concordat, they were unable to perform any of the spiritual functions of their office. Finally as Louis the Fourteenth refused to yield, Pope Innocent the Eleventh laid under interdict, the Church of St. Louis at Rome where the French ambassador was accustomed to hear mass. King Louis retaliated by laying siege to Avignon and appealing to a General Council. General circumstances finally so shaped themselves that the King came to feel that it would be well to make peace and, at the beginning of the pontificate of Alexander the Eighth, he returned Avignon and opened negotiations for a final settlement. No agreement was consummated until in the time of Innocent the Twelfth, when King Louis permitted the bishops to declare their "inexpressible grief" at the Articles of 1682 while he assured the Pope that the necessary orders had been given to deprive the four articles of their authoritativeness in France.(1)

The Pope had finally come out victorious but there was a great deal that detracted from the victory. He could never forget that the French King and priesthood had sanctioned the articles and that, for fifty years, they had been taught to the youth of France. Furthermore, a great deal of noise had been made when they had been adopted and they were withdrawn without any particular public attention. Louis the Fourteenth hurt the Pope's feelings still more in 1697, when he refused to allow papal infallibility to be taught in France and still more in 1713, when he told the Pope that he had only promised not to force Gallicanism on his people and that he had never intended to make war upon it.

While this conflict was being waged a very important event took place which, although perhaps not directly connected with the conflict, yet has a very close relationship to it.

(1) Documents relatifs aux Rapports du Clerge de Royaume de 1682 au 1705, L. Mention pp. 64f

Revocation of the Edict of Nantes-Jansenism

This was the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.(1) As Lavaleye says concerning it(2); "Very submissive to the unreasonable demands of his confessor, Louis the Fourteenth revoked the edict of Nantes." This terrible deed was perfectly in harmony with the King's autocratic ideas. Why should anyone have a religion different from that of their monarch? It was likewise a mark of good will toward the Jesuits and the papacy at a time when the Gallican policy of the government was making good relations difficult. The Protestants had enjoyed comparative peace from the days when King Henry the Fourth had issued the edict. Now they were to be killed, cowed into secrecy, or driven from the land. According to the decree, all Protestant churches were to be demolished; no services held in private houses; all Protestant ministers to leave the country within a fortnight; Protestant schools forbidden; children of Protestants to be baptized by Catholic priests; Protestants who had emigrated might return within four months and reclaim their property or otherwise it would be confiscated; Protestants in France could not leave under penalty of the galleys for men and imprisonment for women; and the ones who did peacefully remain were to be unmolested in their other rights so long as they made no attempt to practice their religion. Let a contemporary, Saint-Simon describe the results of this cruel decree (3) " The revocation of the Edict of Nantes, without the slightest pretext or necessity, and the various proscriptions that followed it, were the fruits of a frightful plot, in which the new spouse was one of the chief conspirators, and which depopulated a quarter of the realm; ruined its commerce; weakened it in every direction; gave it up for a long time to the public and avowed pillage of the dragoons; authorized torments and punishments by which many innocent people of both sexes were killed by the thousands; ruined a numerous class; tore in pieces a world of families; armed relatives against relatives, so as to seize their property and leave them to die of hunger; banished our manufactures to foreign lands; made those lands flourish and overflow at the

(1) Translated in Readings in European History, J.H. Robinson Vol 2 pp.287

(2) Protestantisme et Catholicisme, in Essais et Etudes, E. Laveleye Vol. 1. pp. 395

(3) Translated in Readings in European History, J.H. Robinson, Vol. 1. pp. 291f, from Letter of Oct. 28, 1685, Correspondence, Vol. 7, pp. 420

(4) The History of the Papacy in the 19th Century, F. Nielsen, Vol. 1. pp. 2

(5) For the constitution of the Jesuits, see The Ideas That Have Influenced Civilization, G.D. Thatcher, Vol. 3, pp. 180ff

4 Revocation of Edict of Nantes- Jansenism

expense of France, and enabled them to build new cities; gave to the world the spectacle of a prodigious population proscribed without crime, stripped, fugitive, wandering, and seeking shelter far from their country, sent to the galleys, nobles, rich old men, people much esteemed for their piety, learning, virtue; people, carefully nurtured, weak, and delicate;- and all solely on account of religion." Terrible though this deed was, it was warmly applauded by the Catholics. Madame de Sevigne, a very devout Catholic wrote regarding it: (1) " You have doubtless seen the edict by which the King revokes that of Nantes. Nothing could be finer than all its provisions. No King has done or ever will do anything more honorable." To Pope Clement the Eleventh, it was "a deed of faith which might cover many sins." (2)

The whole of the period that we are studying in this chapter was affected by the influence of two very important factors, Jansenism and Jesuitism, Jansenism has been variously described and among other things has been called Protestantism within the Catholic Church. One must not consider from this expression that there was any sympathy among the Jansenists for the Protestants. Such was not the case. The Jansenists were as zealous in the persecution of the Protestants as any other branch of Catholicism, even applauding the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Nevertheless, there were certain resemblances between the two. Jansenism was a most bitter foe of the Jesuits, especially of their system of morals and longed for a more wholesome religious life in the Church. Its doctrines were based upon the free-will teachings of Augustine and, while it did not question the spiritual leadership of the papacy, yet it maintained a very independent attitude toward the head of the Church that brought it into hearty sympathy with the Gallican movement.

The Jesuits were the shock troops of the Papacy. (3) They were required to make a special vow of obedience to the Holy Father and throughout all of their history, Rome had been able to rest assured that, in these champions of its cause, were supporters that could be depended upon. Because of their activities against

- (1) Letter of Oct. 28, 1865, Correspondence, Vol. 7. pp. 420
Translated in Readings in European History, J. H. Robinson, Vol. 2, pp. 291.
- (2) The History of the Papacy in the 19th Century, F. Nielsen, Vol. 1. pp. 3
- (3) For the constitution of the Jesuits, see The Ideas That Have Influenced Civilization, O. D. Thatcher, Vol. 5, pp. 180ff

4 Jansenism and Jesuitism and the Conflict

the Crown of France during the Religious Wars, they were denounced by the Parliament of Paris and banished from the country. They were charged with being corrupters of the youth, disturbers of the public peace, and enemies of the King and State. Their banishment was recognized only in the region over which the Parliament of Paris had jurisdiction, so in all other places, they continued their work. After the reconciliation of Henry the Fourth and the Pope, a successful effort was made to restore them and the King finally made one of their numbers, his confessor. This was the beginning of their great influence over French life in the seventeenth century.

As soon as Jansenism appeared, it found the Jesuits ready with its opposition. This enmity was increased by the bitter attack that the Jansenists made on the Jesuit system of morals. One of the most famous letters of the Jansenist Pascal was a scathing denunciation of this system. (1) Louis the Fourteenth sympathized with the Jesuits in their dislike of the Jansenists because he found them too independent for his autocratic purposes. The seat of Jansenism in France was Port Royal. Here was developed a body of very brilliant writers who used their pens to greatly extend the influence of their ideas. The Jesuits hated and feared these clever antagonists as well as the cause they represented and urged the King to do something to eradicate the evil. Pushed along by this pressure, the King appealed to Pope Clement the Eleventh to issue a bull for the purpose of crushing Jansenism. This was very pleasing to the Pope and so harmonious were the relations of the two monarchs at this moment that His Holiness sent the bull to Louis the Fourteenth for his approval and correction before it was published. (2) This bull *Vineam Domini Sabaoth* contained an absolute condemnation of Jansenism and as the nuns at Port Royal were only willing to subscribe to it with reservations, the King asked the Pope for another bull giving permission for the dissolution of this seat of Jansenism. After the publishing of this bull in 1709, the Paris police were sent out and with many accompanying indignities, the place was closed and later demolished.

(1) Several Chapters in Provincial Letters, B. Pascal 1656-7

(2) The History of the Papacy in the 19th century, F. K. Nielsen,
Vol. 1 pp. 13 1906

(1) Rapports de L'Eglise et de L'Etat en France, 1789-1870,

A. Debidour pp. 10

(2) La separation des eglises et de L'etat, A. Erlant pp. 44

(3) Histoire des Rapports de L'Eglise et de L'Etat en France,
1789-1870, A. Debidour, pp. 10 1898

Jansenism and Jesuitism and the Conflict-Death of Louis the Fourteenth-Banishment of the Jesuits

This however failed to put an end in Jansenism. The Jesuits continued their plottings until in 1713, they induced Clement the Eleventh to issue the bull Unigenitus (1) which condemned one hundred and one propositions from the famous Jansenist publication, Quesnel's Reflections on the New Testament. The connection of Louis the Fourteenth with this bull was sufficient to cast a dark shadow over his dying days. Urged on by his Jesuit confessor, the King tried to force the people to accept the bull and enforce it. But such was the hostility of both people and clergy to it that they refused to obey the royal mandate. Briand says in his report on the Separation of Church and State, that " the last years of Louis the Fourteenth illustrate the truth, demonstrated by history, that a temporal sovereign is not able to be anything else than either the enemy of Rome or its plaything." (2) Louis began his reign as the champion of independence from the papacy, he now closed it by becoming its tool.

The Unigenitus controversy continued on throughout the reign of Louis the Fifteenth. The control of affairs in France came more and more into the hands of the Jesuits while Gallicanism grew weaker and weaker. The Assembly of French prelates held in the year 1730 could still declare that the articles of 1682 always had been and still were the principles of the clergy of France. Yet there were very few of the higher clergy who were willing to rally behind them and the ones who did do so were, for the most part, Jansenists, while the popular bitterness toward them only increased the reaction against Gallicanism. Many honest Gallicans, including some Jansenists, could not bring themselves to the place where they were willing to fight a papal bull; so instead they went to the other extreme and not only became supporters of the bull, but proponents of papal infallibility in religion and Ultramontaniam in politics.

The Parliaments with their old time independence, still fought for the ancient principles but they were unable to save the situation. Debidour in Histoire des Rapports de L'Eglise et de L'Etat en France, 1789-1870 says, (3) " the policy of the govern-

(1) Rapports de L'Eglise et de L'Etat en France, 1789-1870, A. Debidour pp. 10

(2) La separation des eglises et de l'etat, A. Briand pp. 44

(3) Histoire des Rapports de L'Eglise et de L'Etat en France, 1789-1870, A. Debidour, pp. 10 1898

Banishment of the Jesuits-Conclusion

ment during this period (Unigenitus Controversy) had two consequences "The first was to embolden the magistracy to the extent that, as early as the middle of the eighteenth century, it was able to shake the old edifice of nomarchical absolutism and, by the example of its resistance, make the revolution inevitable. The second was to make the theological quarrels and persecutions appear ridiculous and odious and thus to weaken singularly the faith among the higher and middle classes of the nation, and to give play to the philosophers who, from that time on, made themselves masters of public opinion and familiarized many minds with the idea of rejecting, not only the infallibility of the Pope, but all priestly authority and all religion."

The close of the reign of Louis the Fifteenth found the forces of the papacy weakened by the banishment of the Jesuits from France. The order had never been popular but it had always been powerful. An unhappy financial adventure and the loss of the good-will of Madame de Pompadour, the King's mistress and the power behind the throne, sufficed to bring matters to a head and, after considerable opposition, the society was banished by royal decree. In 1764, a new pope, Clement the Fourteenth, was raised to the pontifical throne, and being possessed of hostility toward Jesuitism, he soon issued a bull Dominus ac Redemptor by which he suppressed the organization. The papal reasons given were, " the utter badness and mischievousness of the society, the hopelessness of its reformation, and the impossibility of its ever subserving the interests of the Church." (1) No Protestant could paint a darker picture of the order than that given by the Holy Father. Soon after the banishment, the Pope caused some coins to be struck on which were printed these words referring to the Jesuits, " Depart from me, I never knew you."

In this chapter, we have studied the Church of France in the time of its greatest glory. Under the protecting arms of Louis the Fourteenth, formal expression was given to the general principles of Gallicanism. These general principles were indeed a restatement of ideas that Gallicanism had always upheld but it lacked entirely any reference to the free election of early

(1) Manual of Church History, A.H. Newman, Vol. 2, pp. 440 1901

Conclusion

Gallicanism. This principle was too democratic to be any more compatible with the royal autocracy of this period than it had been with the papal autocracy of other ages. Gallicanism as here seen is of a very different type from that found in the early period. While still standing for independence from the papacy, it had become distinctly allied with the French throne. In fact, it was one of the main supports of royal autocracy. Its theologians were the ones who provided the religious foundation upon which that system could stand. During the early part of the reign of Louis the Fourteenth, France maintained a very independent attitude toward the papacy although the Holy See never ceased any of its attempts to dominate. The Jesuits were the great champions of papalism at this time. They gradually worked their way into a place of predominating influence over the king. Under their tutelage, he revoked the Edict of Nantes and nearly destroyed Protestantism. Heeding the same influence, the King supported every measure that had for its purpose the overthrow of Jansenism. The outcome was that at the close of the reign of this great King, the papacy was once more dominant in France. As papalism increased in power, Gallicanism proportionally decreased. By the time that the successor of Louis the Fourteenth, Louis the Fifteenth, went from the throne, the old Gallican ideas found very little support. A brief revival indeed helped to bring about the banishment of the Jesuits, but even that was to mean little to France because of the great subserviency to papalism into which the nation had fallen.

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Chapter 5

The Revolution

The Jesuits in the Reign of Louis the Sixteenth-Character of the Church in France Since Louis the Fourteenth-the Church in Its Relation to the Beginning of the Revolution-Revolution not Hostile to Religion-Beginning of the Revolution-Constitution Civile-Papal Objections to Constitution Civile--First Separation of Church and State-Papalism's Hostility to the Revolution a Settled Policy-Monarchists and Clericals unite to Overthrow the Revolution-Religious Moderateness of Revolutionary Leaders Late in the Revolution Increases this Hostility.

Louis the Sixteenth entered upon his reign almost at the time of the banishment of the Jesuits from France, so that the twenty years during which he ruled, have been considered the heyday of Gallicanism. For this reason, some people lay at the door of Gallicanism, all the blame for the great evils that infected the French church previous to the Revolution. Such however, is not the case and the papacy is not to be so easily freed from responsibility in the terrible conditions that then existed. In the first place, the supremacy of Gallicanism was more apparent than real. For while the Jesuits had been dissolved in form, nevertheless, owing to the leniency of the government, they made their appearance under another name and their influence was still very great. Secondly, the King had been raised under Jesuit tutelage and he had learned his lesson well, so that the chief aim of his life was to be a dutiful son of Rome. And while outward circumstances often prevented him from going as far as he would have liked, yet the whole trend of his policy was ultramontane.

The character of the Church greatly deteriorated after the reign of Louis the Fourteenth. The higher clergy, to a large degree, lost the high character found among them at that time. With few exceptions, these ecclesiastics were now drawn from among the noble class, men of a worldly type, little interested in religion, caring only for the princely incomes and dignities. Because of joint responsibility in the appointment of ecclesiastics, the crown and papacy together must share the blame for this deplorable condition. The Holy See bears a special responsibility in the matter, inasmuch as the evils of the French Church were merely those of the whole papal system, beginning at Rome itself. Many times, at Trent and elsewhere, the Sovereign Pontiff had been given the opportunity of at least trying to reform the Church, but he had always failed. The Holy See was much more interested in the maintenance of certain mediaeval prerogatives, the temporal power in-

5 The Church in Its Relation to The Beginning of the Revolution-
Revolution Not Hostile to Religion

cluded, than in a high and noble priesthood.

The evils above noted had brought about a great and growing unrest among the masses of the French people. The character of the French writers of the eighteenth century was both a cause and an effect of this dissatisfaction. There was a notable growth of so-called Free Thought. There came to be an honest criticism of the Church, accompanied by considerable agnosticism and atheism, and a growing hatred of the whole ecclesiastical system. (1) The character of these teachings in the extreme, may be seen in a "moral catechism" of a certain Abbe Coyer, designed for use in the teachings of boys and published just previous to the Revolution. (2) In this book, faith, hope, and love were replaced by justice, beneficence, and courage. Great men were to be used as examples for character building rather than Jesus Christ. The plan was to teach children much as the Persians and Spartans had done and it was thought that, in a little while such characters would be developed" as religion could not match, and whom the Court could not corrupt." In spite of the persecution of their authors, the ideas of the philosophers had spread until all French society was permeated with them. They had no undermined the Church that it was left a feeble instrument with which to meet such trying times as were soon to come.

The great body of the French people who rose in revolt during the revolution were not antagonistic to religion itself nor even to the Catholic religion (3) After the taking of the Bastille, joyous celebrations took place and a Te Deum was sung in the great cathedral at Paris. In the first period of the Revolution, the National Guards consecrated their banners, buried their dead, and deposited their votive offerings before the altars of the parish churches. What brought the most bitter reproach upon the Church were the abuses that had crept into it, for the most part the financial abuses of the higher clergy. These prelates were revel-

(1) See extracts from the writings of Voltaire and Rousseau in Readings in European History, J. H. Robinson Vol. 2 pp 380-386 1904

The ideas that have influenced civilization, O. D. Thatcher Vol. 6 pp. 362-391, Vol. 7, pp. 47-55

(2) The History of the papacy in the Nineteenth Century, F. K. Nielsen, Vol. 1 pp 138 1906

(3) The French Revolution and Religious Reform, W. M. Sloane pp. 50 1901

5 Revolution not hostile to religion- Beginning of the Revolution

ling in wealth, misusing it, oft-times in a most degrading fashion, while a great part of the peasant population was at the point of starvation. As De Tocqueville says, (1) " It was in the character of a political institution, far more than that of a religious doctrine, that Christianity had inspired such fierce hatreds; it was not so much because the priests assumed authority over the concerns of the next world, as because they were landowners, tithe-owners, and administrators in this world; not because the Church was unable to find a place in the new society which was about to be constituted but because she filled the strongest and most privileged place in the old state of society that was doomed to destruction". When one pictures the peasant of that day and the taxes he had to pay, oftentimes, on account of the feudal relations, to a man in priestly garb, we do not wonder that he revolted against it when he saw these same men enjoying their many privileges and at the same time, endowed with immunity from paying those imposts themselves, except as they voted a voluntary gift to the government. To the poor peasant, there was a purchase tax when he bought his land, quit rents, tolls as he crossed^a a river, tax for selling his produce at the market, high rates for grinding at his lord's mill and another at the lord's bakery where he was compelled to bake his bread. (2) Finally after all of these had been paid, along came the clergy to collect the regular dues of the Church. There was no real quarrel to the people with the parish priests, for they too were suffering injustice at the hands of their superiors. Facts show that these faithful pastors were, at the same time, mostly sympathetic with the members of their flocks in this matter. Could these feudal abuses have been voluntarily set aside at the right time, there might possibly have been no Revolution and no severing of connections with the Roman Church. Here, as elsewhere, both the papacy and the higher clergy were so selfishly attached to their special privileges that they were willing to run the risk of losing everything, rather than make any voluntary sacrifice of what they possessed.

While the autocracy had blotted out almost all of the

(1) State of Society in France before the Revolution,
A. DeTocqueville, pp. 11 1856

(2) Cahier of Third Estate of the Baillage of Versailles in
The Ideas that have Influenced Civilization, O. D. Thatcher
Vol. 7 pp 398 1903

Beginning of the Revolution-Constitution Civile

liberties of the various classes in the French nation, the Church had retained some of hers. In fact, as De Tocqueville says (1), "The only body whose peculiar liberties would have commanded respect" were those of the Church. One of the liberties left to the Church was that of her annual assembly. It was in the last one of these held previous to the Revolution, that one of the suggestions was made to the King of the advisability of calling a meeting of the Estates General. (2)

The King called this meeting for May 1, 1789, and against the wishes of the nobles, he ruled that the number from the Third Estate should equal those of the other two orders. Amongst the representatives of the clergy at the Estates General, the largest number were from the ranks of the lower clergy. De Pradt in his book, *Les Quatre Concordats*, published in 1818, says that the clerical representatives numbered three hundred, composed of forty-four bishops, two hundred and forty-four lower clergy, and twelve unclassified. (3) When the Third Estate invited the other orders to join them and form a national assembly (4), some of the lower clergy were the first to break away from their block and go over to the representatives of the people. They were followed by members of the higher clergy and representatives of the nobles and thus the way for the Revolution was paved. (5) Inside of a year, this assembly did away with the monastic vows, swept away the old feudal privileges, provided for the sale of ecclesiastical properties to save the bankrupt government, and decreed the support of the cult out of the public treasury. The result as Briand described it, was that "she (the Church) would not tolerate such a forfeiture. Her ministers enrolled themselves in the ranks of the enemies of the Revolution, while the nation, after having destroyed the structure of the ancient church, devoted itself to establish a new order of things in accordance with its own ideas." (6)

The Constitution Civile (7) drawn up this assembly to be the basis of the new solution of the religious question, was an honest but unwise act. The Committee that wrote it, consisted

- (1) State of Society In France before the Revolution
A. DeTocqueville pp 205 1856
- (2) Dictionnaire de la Revolution Francaise
E. Boursin & A. Challamel pp.135 1893
- (3) Less Quatre Concordats, M. De Pradt Tome 2, pp.9f 1818
- (4) Decree Creating the National Assembly, in Constitutions and Documents, F. M. Anderson pp. 1 f 1904
- (5) L'Eglise et L'Etat en France 1789-1870, A. Debidour pp. 27 1898
- (6) La separation des eglises et l'etat, A. Briand pp. 58 1905
- (7) Constitutions and Documents, F. M. Anderson pp. 16ff 1904

largely of Gallicans, Jansenists, Protestants, and Free Thinkers. These were very careful to free the Church from the influence of Rome, but they were not wise against subordinating it to the State. It would have been a wonderful thing if France, at this time, could have risen to the ideal of a free church in a free state. Briand in his report on the Separation of Church and State thinks that it might have been successfully carried out and religious peace and liberty secured, if the assembly could only have realized that it was the logical and common sense solution. (1) While the discussions were still going on, the Ultramontane party did everything that it could to inflame the public. Serious disturbances took place and considerable blood was shed. But even this did not open the eyes of the legislators to the inconsistency of a government that stood for liberty, pressing its own religious views on an unwilling people nor to the serious troubles that it was to bring on France.

According to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy or Constitution Civile, the Pope was recognized as the titular head of the Church, its outward symbol of unity. The old bishoprics were destroyed, the number decreased, and made to conform to the political divisions of the country. The clergy were to be elected to their offices, instituted into their sacred functions by their metropolitan, and paid out of the public treasury.

There were various things in the new decree that made it unacceptable to the followers of the Holy See. In the first place, all of these changes had been made by a political body and had been declared a law without even the approval of Rome. This was decidedly an interference of the State in spiritual affairs. The election of the clergy was another thing very obnoxious, not only because of the dislike of election but what was worse, Protestants, Jansenists, and Jews might join in the election of Catholic priests. Worst of all, by doing away with papal institution, the real power of the papacy over the French Church had been taken away and the Church in that country had become, to all intents and purposes, a national church. These things bore too many earmarks of Schism from Rome, to cause the new constitution to meet with very great popular approval in France. Whatever reforms the people

(1) La separation des eglise et de l'etat, A. Briand pp. 60 1905

5 Objection to the Constitution Civile-First Separation of Church and State.

were anxious to secure, they still clung to the Roman Catholic Church. (1)

The country was divided in its attitude toward the new constitution. The King disapproved of it but was perplexed as to what attitude to assume. So, in his dilemma, he made an appeal to the Pope for advice. The Holy Father hesitated about giving it, fearing the power of the Assembly lest he might lose Avignon. Finally the King submitted to the will of the Assembly and approved the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. (2) After much wavering, the Pope condemned it and the people of France, for the most part, followed his judgement. Great crowds of people flocked to the refractory priests who had refused to abide by the new religious order of things. Only a very few sought the ministrations of the Constitutional clergy. The great confusion that followed led the Assembly to draw up a new oath of allegiance, in the hopes of forcing the refractory ones to submit. (3) The punishment (4) of those who refused to take the oath followed and a great part of the non-jurors fled the country where they became the center for all kinds of royalist plots. (4) King Louis the Sixteenth tried dissimulation. While outwardly submitting, he made himself the tool of the Jesuits, and planned flight to join the plotters and overthrow the Revolution. (5) It was but a step from here to the persecution of the King and Queen and the establishment of the Republic.

The terrible disturbance that followed led to considerable talk about the separation of Church and State and in 1794, the constitutional bishop Gregory struck the high note when he said that the government had no right to recognize, much less to salary a particular cult, while it recognized the right of every man to have his own. He continues, " It is necessary to proscribe a religion which does not approve of the national sovereignty,

- (1) See Cahier of Third Estate of Carcassonne, translated in Readings in European History, J.H.Robinson, Vol. 2. pp. 397f
- (2) Constitution and Documents, F. M. Anderson pp. 16ff
- (3) Constitution of 1791, Title 2, No. 5 Translated in Constitutions and Documents, F.M.Anderson pp. 63
- (4) Decree on Non-Juring Clergy, Const. and Doc. Ibid. pp. 99f
- (4a) Decree upon the emigres, Const. and Doc. Ibid. pp. 97f
- (5) Letter of Louis Sixteenth to the King of Prussia, Constitution and Documents, Ibid pp. 102f

5 First Separation of Church and State- Papalism's Hostility
to the Revolution a settled Policy- Monarchists and Clericals
Unite to Overthrow the Revolution

liberty, equality, and fraternity in all their extent: but if a cult does not combat these and all of the followers swear fidelity to the national dogmas, whether an individual may be baptized or circumcized, whether he may cry Allah or Jehovah, all this is outside the domain of politics. (1) "The religious turmoil still continued and the separation proposal was pushed through and became a law. (2) The result was disappointing. The constitutional clergy did not find themselves any more popular now than under the other regime, while the non-juring clergy returned to France in great numbers to become new centers for plots and disturbances. The climax of the whole trouble came with the introduction of a new substitute for religion called Theophilanthropism, a system founded upon the deism of Rousseau. (3)

The authorities finally were brought to realize that no solution of the chaotic conditions could be found until first there was a settlement of the religious question. But how could that be accomplished in the face of the bitter hostility of the papacy and its followers, to the government. The papacy saw in the Revolution, nothing but the work of the devil. There could be nothing good in it. Accordingly every revolutionary principle was condemned by papal bulls. The papacy was unable to see that the time had come when the people were to be heard in the management of human affairs as never before. All that it could understand was that the Absolute Monarchy and the Roman Catholic Church had alike been swept away in the terrible movement that bore on its banners the words, Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity. King and nobles, together with priest and prelates were alike persecuted, imprisoned, and killed. Their interests must therefore be one. Out of these deductions, came the unfortunate union between the Church and the Monarchy, that was to color the whole relation of Church and State for the next one hundred years and more.

As a result of the union above mentioned, there had been plottings between the Emigres both lay and clerical, Ultramontanes in France, Monarchists, and the enemies of France, even

- (1) Discours de Gregoire a la Convention sur la liberte des cultes, Etudes sur L'Histoire Religieuse de la Revolution A. Glazier pp. 345
- (2) Decree upon religion 1887 (3 Ventose, Year 3) Translated in Constitutions and Documents, F.M. Anderson, pp. 139
- (3) The History of the Papacy in the Nineteenth Century, F. K. Nielsen, Vol. 1. pp. 161 1906

5 Monarchists and Clericals Unite to Overthrow the Revolution-
Moderateness of the Leaders Late in the Revolution Only Added
to This Bitterness.

before the execution of Louis the Sixteenth. In fact, it was the discovery of these plots, that so turned public sentiment as to bring about this sad event. This conspiracy was still further manifest in the White Terror of 1795. Under the direction of secret organizations, the Ultramontane party formed on French soil as if by magic. Many came from their hiding places in France while others were mysteriously transported from their asylums in foreign lands. The days of the carnage were few and terrible. Hundreds of republican supporters were murdered. Simultaneously from Verona, the Count of Provence announced that, as Louis the Seventeenth had died, he was now King and assumed the title of Louis the Eighteenth. He proclaimed that his aim was to restore the old regime. The uprising was soon put down but it gave a good public demonstration of the workings of these enemies of the new order of things.

As the fanaticism of the Reign of Terror subsided and the leaders of the revolutionary movement came to take a more moderate view of things, it became apparent to all that, for the establishment of orderly society, the help of religion was needed. Restrictions on worship were removed and an opportunity was afforded, if the Pope had been willing, for the papacy to make peace with the Republic and put the Church of France on a new basis that might have brought a more happy future. But Pope Pius the Sixth would not bend, the Ultramontane plots continued, and anarchy reigned.

In the old order of things, the Church held a very important place. As one of the privileged classes, the higher clergy came in for much criticism and bitterness of feeling from the lower classes. With the outbreak of the Revolution, those privileges were all swept away and a new order of religious affairs established. The new Constitution of the Clergy went back to the old Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges for its pattern and it was drawn up and put into force without any compromising spirit toward the Holy See. Consequently it was bitterly opposed by Rome and the most of the French people followed the lead of the Pope and refused to have anything to do with the new

Conclusion

church or its ecclesiastics. This effect was heightened by the fact that the Revolution got out from under the control of the more sober ones that controlled its beginning and committed great excesses that developed into open hostility to all religion. The important fact that grew out of these trying times was the union of the Ultramontanes and Monarchists to overthrow the Revolution, which was to have a distinct bearing on all French life for over a century. This period closes with a definite understanding that some settlement of the religious problem must be made before peace could come to the nation.

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Chapter 6

Napoleon the First

Religious and Moral Condition of France-Negotiations for the Concordat-The Concordat of 1801-The Organic Articles-Results of the Concordat-Napoleon's Relations to the Papacy-Troubles over the Institution of Bishops-the Concordat of Fontainebleau-General Results of the Concordat of 1801

The religious and moral condition of France at the time when Napoleon Bonaparte put his hand to the helm was very distressing. The whole country had been seized with a mad passion after pleasure. Society had struck the depth of degradation. It is said that Paris and the large towns had become veritable brothels and the Palais Royal, nothing but a legalized exchange for all kinds of vice. Marriage ties had been loosened and the family life undermined by the prevailing laws on marriage and divorce. Illegitimacy was considered no disgrace and the average number of divorces was one for every eleven marriages. Laws were uncertain and courts corrupt. Infidelity had led many into the belief that Christianity as well as Ecclesiasticism were incompatible with democracy. The civil government was arduously engaged in trying to break down the Christian Sabbath and to establish the Decadi. To meet all of these evils, there was a divided church, most bitter in its antagonisms. Liberty had been one of the watchwords of the Revolution but the people had no more idea of the meaning of religious liberty than they did before. (1)

The great part of the French people as well as the majority of the clergy was Catholic after the old order of things. They maintained a very firm attachment for the Pope and were unwilling to recognize the legitimacy of any spiritual act that could not trace its authority to his sacred office. The matter of popular election of the clergy was looked upon as abominable, reversion being made to pre-revolutionary times for a prototype of the proper method of inducting the clergy into office and led to appointment by the State and institution by the Pope. The Constitutional clergy were looked upon as schismatics and all things pertaining to the Revolution were condemned. For the most part they favored the return of the Bourbons, although a small faction were willing to make peace with the new government provided that it could be done in a way that would meet the approval of the Pope.

(1) History of the Gallican Church and the Revolution.
(1) France the Nation and it's Development, W. H. Hudson
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Chapter 8

Napoleon the First

Results of the Concordat of 1801
 the Institution of Bishops-the Concordat of Fontainebleau-General
 the Concordat-Napoleon's Relations to the Papacy-Troubles over
 the Concordat-The Concordat of 1801-The Organic Articles-Results
 Religious and Moral Condition of France-Negotiations for

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The Constitutional clergy still bore that name although the Constitution had been discarded. They were democratic in spirit firm supporters of the Republic, evangelistic, and governed by a qualified form of Presbyterianism. Their national council, held in 1797 gives us a good conception of the ideas that dominated this group. They declared that, "The Gallican Church remains inviolably attached to the Catholic, Apostolic, Roman Church of which, the Pope is by divine right, the visible head, possessing in that character, the primacy of honor and jurisdiction."⁽¹⁾ It asserted that the Church had authority to govern herself but that this authority was purely spiritual. The episcopate was to be recognized as an essential to Church government, the bishops being by divine right, superior to the priesthood in jurisdiction. They proclaimed themselves anxious for reunion with their brethren and laid down rules by which this might be accomplished. Pastors must maintain the maxims and liberties of the Church and there should be popular election of bishops by the clergy and people, and confirmation and institution by the Metropolitan. It required of its pastors fidelity to the republic and insisted that this should be done after the manner prescribed by law, including the oath of hatred to royalty. In their desire to establish unity in the Church, they were willing to recognize all clergy, irrespective of their previous political standing. In places where there were two bishops for one diocese, the one appointed previous to 1791 should be recognized and the other was to succeed him in full right. In places where there was only one for a diocese, he should be recognized by all. The same rule applied to the priests in the parishes. In closing their council, they complained that they had done everything possible to re-establish charity and union with their brethren but that everywhere, they had met rebuff. They solemnly made their appeal to the Universal Church and, to that end, requested the Pope, as soon as possible, to convoke an Ecumenical Council, to whose decisions, they promised humble obedience. While their terms seem conciliatory, yet they were upon the impossible basis of the recognition of the Republic as well as the legitimacy of a class of prelates who, in the eyes of Rome, could be nothing but illegitimate. There are no statistics to show what numbers belonged to this religious connection but it has been estimated that they probably concluded about one third of the professed Catholics inasmuch as they possessed five out of the fifteen churches open in

(1) History of the Gallican Church and the Revolution,
H. Jervis pp. 312 1882

Negotiations for the Concordat

The others that helped to make up the religious problem of that day were Protestants, Jews, and Freethinkers. The numbers of these were not large but they were very active and the influence they exercised over affairs was far out of all proportion to their numerical strength.

Napoleon's religious life is enigmatical. At times, he professed the greatest emotion as in the case of the church bells at Malmaison which he spoke of as having great effect on him. On the other hand, he showed himself equally well disposed toward Islam (1) when his ambitions had to do with followers of that religion. His sympathies were probably largely those of the French philosophers, and his interest in religion, the outgrowth of his ambitions. Such perhaps were the portent of the words that Madame de Stael quotes from him, "Do you know what the Concordat that I have signed means? It is a religious vaccination. In fifty years, there will be no religion in France." (3)

No one knows when the ambition for a great western empire took possession of him, but it was well developed by the time of his second Italian campaign. The directory saw in his successes there, an opportunity of overthrowing the papacy. Napoleon saw the chance of tying the papacy to him and preparing the way for a resumption of relations between France and the Vatican that would help him in realizing his ends. In the treaty of Tolentino, February 19, 1797, while he deprived Rome of her fairest provinces, exacted a heavy money indemnity, and imposed other great humiliations, yet he sanctioned no encroachment whatever upon the spiritual independence of the Pope. (4) He caused his soldiers to show every respect to the clergy and he put himself out to be courteous to the Pontiff himself. His purpose was disclosed in a letter that he wrote six months later to the Pope's minister at Florence, in which he said among other things, "At the time of the Treaty of Tolentino, the plenipotentiaries of His Holiness and those of France caught sight of the moment when it would be possible to bring about an understanding between the Holy See and France,

(1) The French Revolution and Religious Reform, W.M.Sloane pp. 248

(2) Bonaparte's Egyptian Proclamation, Readings in European History, J. H. Robinson Vol. 2 pp. 374ff

(3) History of the Papacy in the 19th Century, F.K.Nielsen, Vol. 1 pp. 244

(4) Treaty of Tolentino, Constitutions and Documents,
F. M. Anderson pp. 257

Negotiations for the Concordat

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- (1) The French Revolution and Religious Reform, W.M. Stoen pp. 248
- (2) Bonaparte's Egyptian Expedition, Readings in European History, J. H. Robinson Vol. 2 pp. 374ff
- (3) History of the Papacy in the 19th Century, F.K. Nielsen, Vol. 1, pp. 140-141
- (4) Treaty of Tolentino, Constitutions and Documents, W. M. Anderson pp. 327

Negotiations for the Concordat

France, and when the Pope and the French government might employ, their forces reciprocally to secure internal tranquillity of both states and combine for the satisfaction of both parties." (1) The ideas of Napoleon were not those of the Directory, who bent, on overthrowing the Pope, sought to accomplish it by secret machinations. These intrigues resulted in a riot at Rome, in which a young general connected with the French embassy was killed. Military measures were taken by the French as a result, a provisional Roman republic was proclaimed, and finally, the aged Pope Pius the Sixth was removed from Rome to Valence where he died from the sufferings that he endured.

No sooner had Napoleon entered upon his duties as First Consul, than it was rumored about that there was to be a renewal of relations with Rome. The ancient regime met the suggestion with the same stubborn stupidity as before. They demanded the unconditional restoration of the Bourbons, disavowal of the Revolution, reinstatement of the clergy to the position held before 1789, and a recognition of the Church as dominant and again invested with all of its privileges and authority. The Republicans looked upon these demands as destructive to the Revolution while the Constitutional Clergy were opposed, if it meant giving to the papacy anything but a superficial supremacy. There were some people who were ready to have the Church of France changed into a National Church like that found in England.

Before beginning the realization of his plans, Napoleon made a thorough study of the situation. (2) He had some very earnest consultations with the most learned of the Constitutional Clergy but he found them too strongly Republican to go to the lengths he had in mind. He likewise made a full investigation of Gallicanism as taught by Bousset and the parliaments. He decided that the Gallicanism of Bossuet was what seemed most reconcilable with his ideas of government and his policy of war. The Church needed to be freed from servility to Rome and the ideals of Gallicanism established but it seemed better, however, to reconcile himself with the Pope, if possible, rather than to alienate so many of his subjects by a direct establishment of Gallicanism. If these things

(1) History of the Gallican Church and the Revolution, H. Jervis
pp. 319

(2) History of the Papacy in the 19th Century,
F. K. Nielsen Vol. 1 pp. 228

Negotiations for the Concordat

could be arranged satisfactorily, the Pope might become a very usefully. Whether he felt the need of the Pope, in case he became emperor, is a question, but some surmised it for when LaFayette heard of the possibility of a concordat, he said, "Confess! You want the little flask broken over your head." (1)

As soon as his victories in Italy, had opened up a favorable opportunity, Napoleon commenced negotiations with Pope Pius the Seventh for an agreement. He had in mind certain fundamental principles, that he wished imbedded in the new arrangements. (2) The first was that all of the episcopate must resign or, by compulsion, be deprived of their offices. Most of the old members were hostile to the revolutionary principles and he could run no risk of having these places filled by men opposed to the government. In the second place, the Pope must sanction the sale and confiscation of ecclesiastical property so that the present owners might not be disturbed in their possession. Lastly, he was insistent that the number of the episcopal sees be reduced to fifty and the archbishoprics to twelve, and in the appointment to these offices, the Constitutional clergy should not be overlooked.

Napoleon had no trouble in inducing the Pope to enter into negotiations for there could be nothing dearer to the heart of the Holy Father than to heal the schism that had torn the Church so long. It was another thing, however, to agree on the terms. All through the long and weary discussions, whether in Rome or Paris, the Pope and his counsellors showed a remarkable spirit of forbearance and long-suffering. The First Consul showed himself haughty, beyond all measure. The shameful treatment that he gave the Pope and his advisers is one of the darkest pages in the history of this great man. It was no easy task to bring about an adjustment that meant a union of the Revolution and reaction to about equal degrees but Napoleon was determined to succeed. He did not hesitate to use persecution when he found it necessary in order to force his opponents to give in.

That which was the most difficult to secure was an agreement upon," the liberty of Catholic Worship and the publicity of its

(1) History of the Papacy in the Nineteenth Century, F. K. Nielsen

Vol. 1. pp. 229

(2) Ibid

Vol. 1. pp. 331

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(1) History of the Papacy in the Nineteenth Century, F. E. Wilson

Vol. I. pp. 229

Vol. I. pp. 231

(2) Ibid

The Concordat of 1801

exercise." Napoleon was not willing to grant it in this form but suggested that the article read, "Its worship shall be public but in conformity with the regulations of police." (1) The Pope's legate refused this as he was afraid that the Church would then be subject to the arbitrary action of the police. For a time, it seemed as though the negotiations must fail. Napoleon stormed and threatened to establish an independent church. Finally an agreement was reached on the basis that, "Its worship shall be public but in conformity to the regulations of police, insofar as the government will judge necessary for the public peace." (2) Napoleon was bitterly opposed to even this concession but inasmuch as he probably had in mind a supplemental decree, he agreed and the Concordat was signed.

The principal articles of the Concordat (3) are as follows. The Roman Catholic religion is declared to be the religion of the majority of the French nation. The Pope had wished that it be recognized as the religion of the State. Freedom of public worship was granted within the limitations above mentioned. The Holy See agreed to have the government decrease the number of bishoprics, although it was hard to concede it. The nomination of bishops and archbishops was to be by the First Consul and the institution by the Pope. All of the old bishops must resign or be removed, both Constitutionals and Non-Jurors. If the Non-Jurors refused to resign the Pope was to remove them. This was one of the hardest things for the papal commissioners to concede. The Pope, in his extremity, had even pointed out that the recognition of the right of the Pope to remove bishops conflicted with the Gallican ideas. But Napoleon, inconsistent as he was, was determined that it should be done. The lower clergy were to receive their appointment from the bishops but subject to the approval of the government. The alienation of church lands was sanctioned by the papacy and, in turn, the government agreed to provide the clergy with a suitable stipend. Higher and lower clergy were to swear allegiance to the Republic and the First Consul was to enjoy the same ecclesiastical privileges as those attached to the monarchy in pre-revolutionary days.

(1) L'Eglise Romaine et le Premier Empire, Compté de Haussonville Vol. 1 pp. 123 1868

(2) Article 1 of the Concordat

(3) Constitutions and Documents, F. M. Anderson 1904 pp 297ff

(2) Organic Articles, Constitution and Documents, F. M. Anderson pp. 297ff

Carrying into Effect of the Concordat-The Organic Articles.

Without much delay, the Pope issued a bull confirming the Concordat, and shortly afterwards, another calling upon the Non-Juring bishops to resign for the peace of the Church. Most of them complied without any great resistance. Both the Pope and the government demanded that the constitutionals resign and they readily complied but as a protest in favor of their independence from the Pope, they sent their resignations either to the government or to the Metropolitan who gave them institution. Very little trouble came in the appointment and institution of the new bishops taken from among the legitimate clergy but at the nomination of some of the Constitutional Clergy, a great snag was met. The papal legate refused institution unless they made the declaration demanded by the Pope, that " they adhered and submitted to the Pope's judgment concerning ecclesiastical affairs in France." (1) This meant approval of the Pope's condemnation of all things pertaining to the Revolution and this they were not willing to do. The final compromise was to all intents and purposes a victory for the Pope, in that each candidate wrote a letter of submission to the Pope and supposedly made a verbal abjuration of his errors before two witnesses. Even though the new bishops might claim that they had never abjured their errors, yet they had gone through the form, and most people would consider the submission complete.

Napoleon foresaw a possible abuse of the powers given to the Pope by the terms of the Concordat and in order to prevent this he promulgated as an appendix to the Concordat, a set of regulations called the Organic Articles. (2) As justification for this act, he designated article 1 of the Concordat where it said that " the worship should be public and in conformity to the regulations of the police." The Pope was entirely ignorant of the First Consul's intentions in this matter and when the Articles came to be published, he was filled with great bitterness. Well might he be angry, for, by putting the Church into great dependence on the State, Napoleon had taken away many of the advantages that the Concordat had won for the papacy.

For the most part, the Organic Articles were a reassertion of the Gallican principles that had formed such a part of French policy in the days when Gallicanism was in power. Cardinal Consalvi,

(1) L'eglise et la Premier Empire Compte de Haussonville
Vol. 1. pp. 412 1868

(2) Organic Articles, Constitution and Documents,
F. M. Anderson pp. 299ff

The Organic Articles

the Pope's secretary of state, shows the feelings of the Holy See when he writes in his memoirs, (1) " They almost entirely overturned the new edifice which he had taken so much trouble to build up. Whatever the Concordat had exacted in favor of the liberty of the Church and its worship, was once more brought into question by means of the Gallican jurisprudence; and the Church of France had good reason to fear that she might find herself reduced to slavery."

The Organic Articles established that the government permission must be secured before the publication of any papal documents. Legates and nuncios must secure government approval before working in France. Decrees of church councils must be approved by the government before becoming valid and no ecclesiastical assembly could be held in the country without similar approval. " Appels comme d'abus " relating to ecclesiastics were to be heard and decided before the Council of State. If the archbishop should refuse to consecrate his suffragan, the senior bishop might do it. No person other than a Frenchman might be a bishop or a priest in France without special permission. No bishop was permitted to leave his diocese without the consent of the public authorities. All teachers in seminaries must subscribe to the Articles of 1682 and teach them to their pupils. Church marriage ceremonies might be performed only after the civil one. There was one article from which Napoleon expected to derive great benefit that worked out in exactly the opposite way and helped to make Ultramontanism victorious in France. This article decreased the number of parish priests and increased the number of vicaires and desservants. Inasmuch as these latter could be removed at the will of the bishops, it served to bring the great bulk of the clergy into complete dependence on the bishops. Napoleon had hoped that by his hold over the bishops he would be able to maintain his own supremacy over all the French clergy. As things turned out, the bishops came to have such a dependence on Rome, that it had just the opposite effect, to the great joy of the Vatican.

In spite of the opposition to the Concordat, growing out of the fact that it was a compromise and not wholly pleasing to either side, yet, in a short time, there came to be comparative religious peace in France. The number of legitimist bishops who still

(1) Memoirs of Consalvi, quoted in History of the Gallican church and the Revolution, H. Jervis pp. 385 1882

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Results of the Concordat-Napoleon's Relation to the Papacy.

effort along these lines was firmly rejected.

refused to resign were comparatively few. These few have continued on down to the present time under the name of the Petit Eglise. For the most part, the Constitutional Clergy submitted and little more was heard from them. Although unsatisfactory to almost everybody, yet the Concordat was workable and served to unite the country as Napoleon needed and desired. It also served to fulfill the great hope of the Church in re-establishing Catholicism in France and Pope Pius the Seventh never forgot to be thankful for this boon in spite of all that he was forced to endure at Napoleon's hands. When the news reached the Vatican that the conditions on the Island of Helena were bad for the exiled Emperor, Pope Pius the Seventh said, "This news has caused me unspeakable sorrow, and you will no doubt share it with me; for we must remember, that, next to God, we owe it to him, that religion was re-established in the great French empire." (1)

Although in a general way, the Concordat worked out well, yet Napoleon found that, in spite of his precautions, the wings of the Pope had not been sufficiently clipped and all during the existence of the First Empire, the struggle went on as to whether Napoleon or the Pope was to be supreme in France. The ideal that Napoleon set for himself was to be an emperor after the pattern of Constantine and Charlemagne, supreme over the world both in temporal and spiritual affairs. For this end, he wished to be elevated to the position of emperor. If this was to be rightly done, it should be at the hands of the Pope. The Pope hesitated about doing it, not that he did not recognize the significance of such an act for his holy office, but because of his chagrin over the Organic Articles and the manner in which they had been imposed upon him. Still more he shrank from doing it, because he feared lest such marked favor to Napoleon would be unfavorably received by those countries at enmity with France. Consent was finally given, however, and the Pope went to Paris for the ceremony. Napoleon was careful, that the papal prerogatives might not be too much augmented and, at the opportune time, he took the crown from the Pope's hands and placed it on his own head. If the Pope had harbored any hopes of gaining anything for his accommodation of Napoleon, either in the way of the restoration of his lost provinces or any softening of the Organic Articles, he went back disappointed, because every

(1) Quoted in The History of the papacy in the 19th Century, Nielsen, Vol. 1. pp. 375 from Consalvi's Memoirs

effort along these lines was firmly rejected.

From this time on, the Emperor developed his idea of supremacy in a very insolent way. Upon little pretext, he seized the port of Ancona to show the English and the Russians that his authority extended over the Papal states. His aim is shown in a letter written to his uncle Cardinal Fesch, after the Pope had protested against this act, "Tell Consalvi and even the Pope himself, that since he purposes to expel my minister from Rome, I may think it proper to go in person and re-establish him. In regard to the Pope, I hold the place of Charlemagne, I have annexed the crown of France to that of the Lombards, and my empire extends to the confines of the East. Let him regulate his conduct toward me on that principle, I will make no change in my policy, if he behaves himself well, but otherwise I will reduce the Pope to the Bishop of Rome." (1) Again he wrote to the Pope, "All Italy must be subject to my will. I will not in any way, attack the independence of the Holy See; but there must be this understanding between us, that your Holiness will observe the same deference to me in temporal matters, that I exhibit toward you in things spiritual. Your Holiness is Sovereign of Rome, but I am its Emperor. All my enemies ought to be yours. I shall always preserve for your Holiness, as the head of our religion, that filial attachment which I have shown under all circumstances; but I am reasonable to God, who has been pleased to make use of my arm for the restoration of religion." (2)

The emperor's encroachment even in spiritual matters is shown in his attempt to force on the church of France, a catechism (3) which would teach the children of the country, their sacred duty toward their emperor. Cardinal Consalvi wrote to Caprara, the papal legate at Paris, that the Pope considered that the catechism contained many false statements and urged the legate to oppose it, should any attempt be made to establish it. He said that "he was not to hesitate to warn his majesty and tell him in the name of His Holiness, that he should keep himself free from the inventors of counsels of such a character, and that the Holy Father is persuaded that his Imperial Majesty does not intend, in matters of doctrine to arrogate to himself a faculty, that God has exclusively confided to the

(1) History of the Gallican Church and the Revolution,

H. Jervis pp 418 1882

(2) Ibid pp 418

(3) Readings in European History, J. H. Robinson

Vol. 2 pp 509f 1904

Trouble over the Institution of Bishops

Church and to the hands of Jesus Christ." (1)

The Emperor found himself hampered in all this struggle by the refusal of the Pope to institute the Bishops that he nominated. He was unable to find any satisfactory solution of the difficulty. He tried dispensing with papal institution and sent the nominees to take up the work of their Sees without it. This was unsatisfactory, because in the eyes of the people, they were without spiritual functions. Only those nominees of the Emperor who were his tools would even attempt it. Those who refused to obey were persecuted. As a last resort, it was decided to call a council to make some settlement.

The members of this council was bishops from France, Italy and Germany. The influence that Rome had exerted over the French episcopate is illustrated by M. de Pradt, a member of the council. He said, "the Italians appeared to be more Gallican than the French and these here more Italian, more Roman than Gallican; this indicates that one of the most remarkable effects of the Concordat had been to draw the Church of France to Papal Rome." (2) Such a result had been brought about largely through the dependency of the bishops on the Pope, the outgrowth of papal institution. Unable to accomplish anything through the council, Napoleon dissolved it and threw the obdurate ones in prison. After ridding himself of the ones who were opposed to him, the Emperor called the council together again and a decree was finally passed stipulating that, unless the Pope instituted by the end of six months, the archbishop or senior bishop of the province was given the necessary power. A committee was then sent to the Pope at Savona to secure papal sanction. Duped in regard to the manner in which the decree had passed, weakened by the long suffering that he had endured, the Pope granted the concession and engaged to expedite the institution of bishops and should he fail to institute before the end of six months, the metropolitan or senior bishop was to have the necessary authority to perform that sacred rite. (3) Thus the papacy resigned the sole right of institution. After the ambassage departed, the Pope repented of his act and only found consolation in the thought that he had not signed an article to that effect.

Napoleon was not satisfied with what he had gained. Conspiracies were continually being formed around the Pope, no small number

(1) L'eglise et la premier empire, C. de Haussouville, Vol. 1 pp 438

(2) Les Quatre Concordats, M. De Pradt, Tome 2, pp. 489

(3) Ibid Tome 21 pp. 507ff

for letter of Pius the Seventh

The Concordat of Fontainebleau

of which sought the restoration of the Bourbons to the throne. The Emperor saw that the schism was working to bring about the restoration so he decided to call a second council and try again to solve the problem and avert the danger. Previous to calling the council, a new deputation was sent to the Pope, telling him that the Emperor would return to the Concordat of 1801 if he would institute the bishops named and that he might return to Rome if he would take the required oath but, if he refused, he might live at Avignon without interference with his spiritual jurisdiction and a new council of the West would be called. The Pope refused to give a satisfactory answer and the new council was called. This council drew up a program, similar to the former one and a new delegation was sent to present it to the Pope who, much against his will, felt compelled to sign it.

The Emperor was still suspicious that the Holy Father was not acting in good faith and found confirmation for his fears when the bulls of institution arrived, for they were so worded as to show the Pope's conviction that Rome was his domain after the same manner as the old papal claim. The bulls were not published but Napoleon became more anxious than ever to have the matter settled on account of the demands of the Russian situation. The Pope still remained obdurate so the Emperor caused notification to be made to the Holy Father that if he persisted in his refusal to accept the propositions made to him, he would consider the Concordat broken and that, from that time on, the Pope would have nothing to do with the matter of institution. (1)

The clergy of France were very much incensed at this new manifestation of Napoleonic tyranny and did all that they could to agitate the people concerning it, Napoleon replied by a decree against religious education and laid down the rule that the pupils of free schools should follow the course used in the lay institutions, that all schools having candidates for the priesthood should be subject to the University, that there should be only one of these schools in a department, that the pupils in the seminaries should receive no financial help, and that they should be required to take military training. The arrest of royalist priests greatly increased and finally the Pope was transferred to Fontainebleau.

(1) Note remise a Sa Saintete par les eveques deposes a Savone, in L'Eglise Romaine et le Premier Empire, Haussonville, Vol. 5 pp 119f
Compte de Haussonville Vol. 5 pp 119f

6

The Concordat of Fontainebleau- General Results of the
Concordat of 1801- Conclusion

The disastrous outcome of the Russian campaign and the threat of the allied armies, brought Napoleon to feel the need of making peace with the Pope and thereby binding his catholic subjects more closely to the empire. Accordingly, very soon after his return to Paris, he visited the Pope and began negotiations for a new Concordat. As a result of these labors, the Concordat of Fontainebleau (1) was agreed to and signed. According to this new document, Napoleon made a great many concessions to the Pope. He agreed to restore the papal archives wherever the Holy Office might be set up, to allow the Pope entrance into possession of his domains not yet alienated, and to recompense him for those already lost. The Emperor promised his powerful protection for the numerous needs of religion and granted a number of other things well pleasing to Pope Pius. One thing however, Napoleon exacted for himself and that was the agreement on the part of the Pope, to execute the decree of the council relating to the institution of bishops. This was a hard thing for the Pope to grant but he probably foresaw the coming of the time when Napoleon would fall and all of this be overthrown.

With the oncoming tide of misfortune, Napoleon continued his endeavor to reinstate himself in greater favor by restoring the Roman provinces and finally by restoring the Pope himself to Rome. The Pope, on the other hand, finding circumstances favorable to him, took courage and repudiated the Concordat of Fontainebleau. After the fall of the Emperor, the old regime returned and a complete reaction set in.

When Napoleon came into power in France, he saw the absolute need of a re-establishment of religion if civil affairs in France were to reach any settled basis. To meet this need and help forward his own ambitions, he concluded with the Holy See, the Concordat of 1801. To fortify the national independence, he published the Organic Articles, the basis of which is the Gallicanism of Louis the Fourteenth, including the four Gallican Decrees. The Emperor was doubtless satisfied that he had taken sufficient precautions to prevent papal interference but he found that his work was like a leaky sieve. The Pope's power of institution was a hole through which all of the other safeguards were lost. Because the Emperor possessed powers that few men have, he managed to prevent serious damage so long as his rule continued but the time was bound to come, when the state's affairs would fall into weaker hands and the real nature of the Concordat be

(1) Copy of Concordat given in Les Quatre Concordats, M. De Pradt
Tome 3, pp. 2ff

6 Conclusion-Bibliography

made manifest. The Concordat of 1801 really accomplished what Napoleon desired. Religion was re-established in France and national unity secured, thus making possible the glorious years of the Napoleonic period. Yet even Napoleon found it inadequate to cope with the great power embodied in the papacy and De. Pradt credits him with saying that it was " the greatest mistake of my life. "(1) The next seventy-five years were to see the manifestation of the real character of the agreement.

(1) Les Quatre Concordats, M. de Pradt, v ol. 2 pp 499 1818

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Chapter 7

Louis the Eighteenth and the Clericals-The Declared Plan of the Emigres-The Pope and the New Regime-Enslavement of the French Clergy to Rome-Return of the Jesuits-Louis the Eighteenth's Charter-The King's Relations to the Reactionaries-Return of Napoleon-Concordat of 1817-Reactionary Measures-Importance of the Jesuits to the Reaction-Close of Louis the Eighteenth's Reign-Charles the Tenth and Reaction-Pope Leo the Twelfth Protests against the Modern Spirit-Extreme Reaction Brings on Revolution and the Overthrow of the King-King Louis-Phillippe and Reaction-Teachings of Lamennais-Opposition of the Hierarchy

When Louis the Eighteenth returned to France to ascend the throne, there came with him a body of emigre clergy, men who had rejected not only the Constitution Civile, but also the Concordat of 1801. Fanatical as a result of their long adhesion to the principles for which they had fought, goaded on to vengeance for the sufferings they had been forced to go through, they now had hopes that the new King would prove a docile instrument in their hands to help restore the old regime. Their aspirations were accentuated when King Louis the Eighteenth took their leader Talleyrand-Perigord and made him president of an ecclesiastical commission that replaced for some time, the position of Minister of Cults.

The declared plan of this band of emigres, formulated in 1814, and quoted by Debidour (1) was as follows; " To abolish the Concordat of 1801 and above all the Organic Articles for the express purpose of reducing to a minimum, the control and supervision of the State over the Church; to re-establish as soon as possible, the relations between the two powers such as had existed previous to 1789; to re-establish the ancient dioceses or at least the greater part of them; to enable the clergy to again become a corporate body, that is to say, a state within a state; to again secure suitable and independent endowments in landed property or perpetual pensions; to open the doors wide for the religious orders, both men and women, and to grant them the privileges not only of possession but what was more, of indefinitely increasing their properties by means of gifts and legacies of the faithful; to destroy the University, that is to say, the State as teacher, or if that was impossible, to subordinate it to the Church, and give to the clergy absolute freedom in opening schools of every order; to give Catholicism official recognition as the exclusive or, at least, the more or less favored religion; to protect it rigorously from the attacks of the press; to give the force of law to its principles, both dogma and discipline; to restore to the Church the keeping of the state registers; to remove from the code of laws, whatever it disproved, consequently to

(1) Histoire des Rapports des Eglise et de L'Etat en France
1789-1870, A. Debidour pp. 326

7 The Pope and the New Regime-Enslavement of the French Clergy
to Rome-Return of the Jesuits

abolish divorce, to make the religious marriage obligatory, and to require that the religious ceremony should precede the civil; finally to re-establish ecclesiastical jurisdiction and to restore the prestige of the clergy by guaranteeing to them some legal privileges, at least like unto those of the ancient regime."

We have already called attention to the unhappy alliance made during the period of the Revolution, between the French Royalists and the Ultramontane clergy. In the face of a common danger, they had joined hands for common defense. That alliance had never been dissolved, but acting under unfavorable conditions, had entered into a period of "watchful waiting." The Pope had doubtless secured the best arrangements possible from Napoleon but there probably was no time when he would not have preferred a restoration under the benign influence of the Bourbon dynasty. The opportunity for this alliance to act had now come. The history of the remainder of the nineteenth century shows its power.

There were very few ecclesiastics left in France who would dissent from the policy of the Emigres. The Higher clergy of the Concordat had suffered so much at the hands of Napoleon that all those who had not already been drawn into the ranks of Ultramontanism by their dependence on the papacy, were forced to it by their unhappy condition. This class, therefore, very quickly aligned themselves on the side of the Emigres. The lower clergy had been completely subordinated to the episcopacy by the laws of the Empire and had lost all of their former independence. The patriotic priests of the Constitution Civile were all dead and their places had been filled by a lot of young men, ignorant, fanatical and reared in an atmosphere of hatred for all things revolutionary. Thus was the ground laid from the top of the French hierarchy to the bottom, for a great revival of papal dominence and reaction.

One of the first accomplishments of the new regime was a great increase in the monastic orders. Napoleon had recognized in them elements of danger and had only tolerated certain ones that best served his purposes, such as those devoted to teaching and the care of the sick. Over two hundred of these had been recognized by the Emperor. Others had crept in outside the law and remained undisturbed. Toward the close of the empire, more strict measures had been taken against them. One of the first things that the Bourbons did upon their return was to remove all restrictions and thus, not only did all of the old ones

7 Return of the Jesuits-Charter of Louis the Eighteenth-
The King's relations to the Reactionaries

return but many new ones were established. The most important of these to gain a new footing in France was the Jesuits, whom Pius the Seventh had restored Aug. 7, 1814. They had made their appearance in France about ten years previous but now that the way was cleared for them, they came out into the open and rapidly spread all over the country. Large numbers of the nobles soon allied themselves with the Jesuits. These men had for the most part become atheistic and this new alliance did not come as any sign of a change of heart but rather a community of interest.

Louis the Eighteenth had been a Free Thinker from his youth and while the unfortunate experiences through which he had passed may have robbed him of the ardor of his beliefs, yet he would have been willing, personally, to have granted the people a very liberal constitution. The conditions under which he labored prevented him from carrying out a program wholly suited to his own wishes. (1) He held to the old theory that the sovereign was the source of all legitimate authority and the Charter (2) that he granted was, in his mind, the free gift of his royal goodness. He inaugurated a constitutional monarchy with a legislature of two houses. In the Charter, he proclaimed the liberty of worship and equal protection to all beliefs. It also declared that the sale of national properties should be irrevocable and that the press should be free. Very inconsistently, this constitution declared the Catholic Religion, the religion of the State, an anomaly in a country that recognized by law, the liberty of worship.

There were a great many things that tied King Louis to the reactionary party. He had suffered a great deal along with them ever since the Revolution and he was as anxious as they to efface every trace of the accursed thing. He abhorred the Napoleonic laws relating to the Church, especially because they were in his eyes, the work of a usurper. Policy drove him still further into the hands of the reactionaries because it was plain to him that he was thus offered a strong party ready to uphold his claim to the throne. Finally his family was strongly reactionary and continually goaded him on in that direction. All of these considerations, together

(1) See Memoirs of Chancellor Pasquier in Readings for European History, J. H. Robinson Vol. 2 pp 536f

(2) For copy of Charter see Constitution and Documents, F. M. Anderson pp. 456ff

(3) Rapports des Salles et de l'Etat en France, 1789-1870, A. Delboul pp. 339

The King's Relations to the Reactionaries-Napoleon's Return

with the fact that an old and sickly body lessened his powers of resistance, gradually brought him to the position of a mere tool in their hands.

The press was put under a severe censorship and the property of the emigre clergy, remaining still unsold, was turned black to the Church. Further action was blocked by the Assembly so that the next move was made by royal decree, without the concurrence of that body. The first order destroyed the University monopoly over secondary school and small seminaries as it was created by Napoleon. (1) The archbishops and bishops were authorized to found an institution of this grade in each department to be kept under their exclusive jurisdiction. What the law and royal decree failed to give this time, for the complete subjection of education to the Church, was usurped by the ecclesiastical officers, the government making no objection. A little later an order was given that dispensed with the University itself, substituting for it, seventeen regional universities placed under the control of the Royal Council of Instruction, the presidency of which was put into the hands of a prelate. In pre-Revolutionary days, the Church had wielded a great influence on account of its enormous riches but now that these were lost, it determined to make up for the loss, by securing control over education. This project was now well under way, inasmuch as these new regulations had brought the whole system of education under the control of the episcopacy.

Any further realization of the plans of the Emigres, was prevented by the return of Napoleon. The sympathies of the Emperor were more than ever on the side of the Revolution during this period of his life. (2) The result of this was that, after his second overthrow, there was an outburst of hatred and vengeance against the Revolution and the Empire which surpassed anything seen during the first restoration. At this time, as Debidour says: "Nearly all of the priests, far from preaching peace, stirred up discords by furious mandates, in which they held up to public reprobation, not only the friends of the Revolution but also all of the private owners of the national estates." (3)

Upon ascending the throne for the second time, Louis the

(1) Loi Du 23 Ventose, Piece Justificative in Rapports de L'Eglise et de L'Etat en France, A. Debidour pp. 689

(2) See Decree for Convoking an extraordinary assembly, pp. 467f and The Act Additional, pp. 472ff, Constitution and Documents, F. M. Anderson

(3) Rapports des Eglise et de L'Etat en France, 1789-1870, A. Debidour pp. 339

Concordat of 1817-Reactionary Measures-

Eighteenth did not renew the royal edicts relating to education, because he found the Assembly too strongly opposed. The reactionary party, unable to carry out its designs in the Assembly, formed a new society called the Missions of France, that sent its ignorant and fanatical emissaries into all parts of the country, preaching against the spirit of the Revolution, burning the books of the philosophers, and in every way, trying to stir up strife.

It was at this time, that Louis the Eighteenth, urged on by the reactionaries, began negotiations with the Pope for a new Concordat. So secretly were these negotiations carried on, that nothing was heard about it until the work was accomplished. This new understanding was called the Concordat of 1817 (1) and according to its provisions the Concordat of 1516 was re-established while that of 1801 was not revoked but mere declaration was made that from henceforth it was not effective. The terms of this new compact arranged for a change in the bishoprics, increasing the number; provided for the support of the Church by the State, until the ecclesiastical foundations could be secured; stipulated that the King should assist the Pope in doing away with the disorders and other obstacles that stood in the way of the development of the Church; that the old abbeys and other benefices previously destroyed were not to be forcibly re-established but the ones founded from this time on, should be subject to the new treaty; finally abolished the Organic Articles" insofar as they were contrary to the doctrines of the Church."

Without waiting to find out the attitude of the French Church toward the new Concordat, the Pope issued a bull defining the new bounds of the dioceses, in accordance with the increase in number. The wording of the bull was such that it made it appear that France was merely one of the papal provinces and, in other ways, was very offensive to all Frenchmen who had anything of the Gallican spirit still in their hearts. To make things still worse, the Pope continued to force matters by instituting without delay, the thirty-four bishops that the King had nominated, most of whom were destined to fill the new sees. Opposition was still further aroused when there went out from the Vatican, a message to the other states of Europe, in which the Concordat was depicted as an agreementfully

(1) Les Quatre Concordats, M. De Pradt Tome 3. pp 75ff

7

Reactionary Measure- Importance of the Jesuits to Reaction

accomplished and emphasis was made of the great concessions that the Holy See had made to the French government therein.

The Assembly put up a great fight against confirming the Concordat in the form in which it was presented to them and attempt was made to induce the Pope to agree to certain compromises but to no avail. Matters were brought to a crisis by the murder of the Duke of Berry, the heir to the throne, which resulted in a violent reaction against the liberal party, the overthrow of the liberal government, and the establishment of one decidedly ultramontane. The liberty of the press was again suspended; (1) the electoral laws changed so as to put the controlling power into the hands of the aristocracy, the faithful ally of the Church; and a new attempt was made to again dominate education by ecclesiastical control. By royal ordinance, nominations to ecclesiastical offices was put into the hands of the President of the Council, one of the most radical adherents of the papal party, and the University was once more brought under clerical control. Religion, monarchy, legitimacy, and the Charter were declared to the essential bases of public education, the colleges were placed under the domination of the bishops, and still further measures were taken to bring about a similar control over primary education. Louis the Eighteenth's reign closed with the reactionary party in full control.

We referred, in the account of the early part of this reign, to the return of the Jesuits. Too much emphasis cannot be placed upon their activities, in considering the revival of papalism in the nineteenth century. In fact Nippold says, (2) that "in this period, the history of the Jesuits and the papacy may be treated as one, so great was their influence." One of the most successful means of extending their power was the institution of the Congregations of the Affiliated Jesuits (*à robe courtè*, or in dress suits) which permitted people to enter into the workings of the order without taking the vows. These congregations were of various kinds, suited to the classes that they were to influence. Let us quote from Nippold. "The higher and middle classes, artisans, domestics, soldiers, and even children had their special sodalities, And now varied was the list of names, how innocent the objects: 'for the propagation of the faith,' 'for the defense of religion, ' ' for the defence of the holy mysteries and the holy

(1) Law of the Press, March 17, 1822, Duvergier Lois, 23, 478-480
Constitutions and Documents, F. M. Anderson pp 488f 1904

(2) History of the Papacy in the Nineteenth Century, F. Nippold
pp 42 1900

7 Close of Louis the Eighteenth's Reign-Charles the Tenth
and Reaction

sacraments. ' Besides these, there were the societies' of the sacred heart of Jesus or Mary, ' of the Holy Rosary, ' of the Holy Sepulchre, ' ' also the 'society of regenerated France.' "Count Artois and his daughter-in-law, the duchess of Angouleme, a very fanatical Catholic, were at the head of the congregation among the nobles. The seat of this congregation was the Pavilion Marsan, where even during the last of Louis the Eighteenth's reign, a veritable secret government wielded its power.

Recognizing that Louis the Eighteenth was about to die and that, in his successor, they were to have a still more pliable tool the Ultramontanes chose to lay the grounds for future advance rather than to try for too much in a hurried way. Accordingly, they induced King Louis to dissolve the Chamber of Deputies and call a new election. They were convinced that with the then prevalent condition of the public mind, they would be given a greatly increased majority, as proved to be the case. Then in order to gain more time for the furthering of their plans, they caused the King to issue a decree that established the new Chamber for seven years than the usual one year. Thus was everything set for the stopping any further attempts at liberalization for some time to come.

Charles the Tenth came to the throne, a most earnest advocate of the papal party. Nippold describes him as being, "more papal than the Pope himself." In the first declaration to the legislature, Charles said, " he would close the last wound of the Revolution" and announced piously that he would shortly go to the altar and renew the intimate alliance of the throne and religion by the sacred anointing.(1) His words were made good by deeds. The Emigres received their long anticipated indemnity as his first official act. By the second, he made sacrilege punishable as a crime, a step that took the Church back to the barbarism of the Middle Ages. This act met violent opposition in the Assembly, but it was finally passed, although never enforced. The next step was to give the King absolute power in authorizing congregations of women by mere royal ordinance. The same act opened the way for the congregations to grow rich by means of legacies and gifts. This much accomplished, Charles went to the altar at Rheims where he was crowned like his ancestors. Debidour says (2) "Never had the audacity of this party been so defi-

(1) L'Eglise et L'Etat en France 1789-1870, A. Debidour pp. 379

(2) Ibid pp. 386f

7 Pope Leo the Twelfth Protests Against the Modern Spirit-Extreme Reaction Brings Revolution and the Overthrow of the King

ant as at this time when the ringleaders of the religious reaction held all of the ministerial functions, all the public offices, and terrorized the functionaries; when the Jesuits, in spite of the laws, made themselves masters of the youth openly; when the missionaries conducted by military bands, made triumphant marches everywhere; when their proselytism went to search out the soldiers in the barracks and to lead them in a body to the altar; when evil priests refused religious burial to Jansenists or Gallicans; when the legal marriage was boldly called concubinage;-----when the fanatical priest lost himself so much as to say in the pulpit that Charles the Tenth was not a Christian, since he wished to maintain the Charter, that is, an act contrary to religion." There were leaders, who thought conditions were bad because the reaction had not proceeded far enough. Such a man was Lamennais who held that, "Without religion, it is impossible to have society; with Catholicism, there is no religion; and Catholicism itself is unable to exist without the sovereignty, both temporal and spiritual of the Pope. The pretended liberties of the Gallican Church were nothing but foolish trash. The authority of the King should be subordinated to that of the Holy See, who had the power of releasing subjects from their oath of allegiance. The adherents of the declaration of 1682, were schismatics, and all of the evil that modern society was suffering came from the attacks that had been made on the supremacy of the Sovereign Pontiff." (1)

The extremities to which the papal party went, brought about a reaction in public sentiment, even among men who previously had supported the movement. Among these was Montlosier, one of the Emigres and an ardent Royalist. He attacked the congregations most bitterly, charging the one at Paris with being a veritable unseen government. The Jesuits likewise came in for a wholesale denunciation and finally, in a famous publication addressed to the royal court, he gave a vivid picture of the Jesuit missions, their excesses and scandals, showing the government over-run with them and the dignity of the King compromised. The only hope for improving conditions as he saw it, was by a rigorous observance of the Gallican doctrines. The government should assert itself and dissolve all of the congregations that had grown up outside of the law.

At this time, there appeared a new trend of thought in the French Church, that was to have a great bearing on the future rela-

(1) Quoted in Rapports des Eglises et de L'Etat en France, 1789-1870, A. Debidour pp. 392

(2) Documents, P. M. Anderson, pp 4915
Ordinances on the Election, 1814 pp 4955
(3) Constitution of 1830, 1814 pp 5972

7 Extreme Reaction Brings Revolution and the Overthrow of
the King- King Louis-Phillipe and Reaction

With the rising tide of protest, a more liberal assembly and ministry came into being. Laws were passed increasing the authority of the University and putting restrictions on the religious communities. Against his will, the King signed the decrees but a crisis was imminent. The King, hopelessly enslaved to the Ultramontane party, was determined to find some way of breaking the opposition. The situation was made still worse by the encyclical of Pope Leo the Twelfth, in which he asserted himself by assailing the modern spirit, bitterly condemning freedom of worship, civil marriage, lay teachings and other ideals of the new day. Agreeable to the Clericals, the King dissolved the Assembly and called a new election. The new Assembly was more liberal than the old. With a high hand, Charles the Tenth dissolved this one and changed the electoral laws so as to lessen the power of the liberal party. The temper of the country was against him, however, Revolution broke out, the King was forced to flee, and Louis-Phillipe came to the throne.(1)

This brings up to a very important period in the subjugation of France to Rome. The old monarchy had been overthrown, largely by men who were imbued with a deep hatred of Ultramontanism. Under such circumstances, one would expect to see conditions changed, but such was not to be the case. On the contrary, it was to develop into a period in which the nation was to be dominated by Rome as never before.

There was some violence against religion along with the revolution but for the most part, the people were satisfied with having rid themselves of the King, without an overthrow of religion. They removed the clause in the Charter that declared Catholicism to be the religion of the State and replaced it by the phrase that it was the religion professed by the majority of the people in France.(2) They further declared their purpose of soon revising the organization of public education in harmony with the liberty of teaching, a liberty which, as then understood, could only work for the benefit of papalism. The new King was animated by the same spirit of conciliation and, while he had associated with revolutionary ideas, he now did all that he could to make the French episcopacy and the Pope know that he wanted to be their friend.

At this time, there appeared a new trend of thought in the French Church, that was to have a great bearing on the future rela-

- (1) Documents on the Dissolution of 1830, Constitution and Documents, F. M. Anderson pp 491f
Ordonances on the Election, Ibid pp 497f
(2) Constitution of 1830, Ibid pp 597f

7 Teachings of Lamennais

tions of France and Rome. The leader of it was a priest by the name of Lamennais. He was a most ardent papist and at the same time, an enthusiast for the ideas of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, the watchwords of the Revolution. He attempted to harmonize the Church and the Revolution, a seemingly impossible thing. His ideas of the papacy were more exalted even than those of the Pope himself. He looked upon all agreements with civil powers as an evil thing, unless they were drawn up with the distinct idea of benefiting the Church. On the other hand, he considered that in all such agreements, previously made, the governments had sought to benefit themselves at the expense of the Church, for which reason he repudiated all such agreements. He furthermore found that the connection of the papacy with the temporal powers and political parties were the cause of much of the distrust in which the Holy See was held in the minds of the people. He therefore drew the conclusion that the Pope should rise up high above temporal governments that he might become the champion of the people's rights everywhere. In this way, distrust and suspicion would disappear and the papacy would realize, in full what it was intended to be. (1)

Such ideas openly pronounced by an influential party such as Lamennais represented, put the Pope in a tight place. He could not help being flattered by the high conception of the papal office but the new attitude toward Concordats with its implied attacks on the judgment of the Pope who made them, could be considered as nothing else than heretical. The advocacy of the revolutionary ideas was also looked upon as a dangerous thing and contrary to all of Rome's condemnation of such things. The King likewise was not pleased as he found in them a menace to the throne as well as the Church. The French episcopate also condemned them as they were not in favor of countenancing a break with the Legitimist party, such as was advocated. While they approved of Lamennais' condemnation of the Organic Articles, they could not follow him in taking the same attitude toward the Concordat. Thus condemned on every hand, Lamennais declared himself ready to submit his cause to the judgment of the Holy See.

A new Pope, Gregory the Sixteenth, ascended the papal throne at this time and for a while, he hesitated to condemn this teacher and his followers who had gone to Rome to secure his judgment. Finally he did issue an encyclical in which, he condemned the ideas that were

(1) Oeuvres Completes, F. De La Mennais Tome 7
De la Religion dans ses rapports avec le' Order
Politique et Civil

taught without mentioning the name of the author. At the same time, he had Cardinal Pacca write Laménais a letter, informing him that the condemned teachings were his and asking him to make his submission. This Laménais did, but only in form. Soon afterwards, he brought forth a book entitled, "Paroles d'un croyant (1)" which attained immense popularity but being a direct answer of the Pope's encyclical, it brought forth another papal decree in which Laménais was condemned by name. He thereupon withdrew from the Church and spent the rest of his days in the service of humanity.

One of the followers of Laménais refused for some time to submit to the papal condemnation but finally gave in. His name was Montalembert. Only the wonderful elasticity of a Jesuit trained conscience can explain the manner in which this man could harmonize his new teachings with his submission to the Pope. Montalembert and his school showed themselves more tactful than their predecessor both toward the King and the Church. Without approving the Concordat, they did not demand the separation of Church and State. They refrained from teaching insurrection and declared all forms of government acceptable. While not upholding all forms of modern liberties, they most ardently championed two of them, namely liberty of teaching and liberty of education. They considered that these should be granted to the Church, not as a privilege or a favor but as a recognition of natural right.(2) Montalembert occupied a place in the Chamber of Deputies and as he was a forceful orator, soon gathered around him, a party strong enough to make the government reckon with them.

The King wishing to attach the clergy to him, secured the passage of a law by which, moral and religious instruction was given first place in the scheme of public education, the priests placed in supervision over the primary school, and private schools, which belonged for the most part to the congregations were granted a place co-ordinate with the communal schools. As the control of the electorate lay in the hands of the bourgeoisie, Montalembert's party could only be satisfied when the Church could control the schools that most influenced them, namely the colleges or secondary schools. A law to this end was introduced but was killed in the Assembly. The King and his ministers did not hesitate at every opportunity, to show favor to the clericals as they saw in them, the best weapon at hand with which to fight the republi-

(1) Oeuvres Complètes, F. de LaMennais Tome 11, pp. 1-131

(2) Discours de M. Le Montalembert sur Affaires de Rome,
in French Pamphlets

can and socialistic ideas that were making considerable headway. The result was that during this period, the Church made wonderful progress, the religious ceremonies grew in popularity, the budget of the Church increased each year, new places of worship were being constantly built, and old ones repaired. The greatest sign of progress was to be seen in the increase in the number of congregations. The growth of these was enormous, especially those organized outside the law. While the illegal ones which had at first come back timidly and without coming out into the open, now threw aside all secrecy, donned their accustomed garbs and worked might and main to advance the good of the Church throughout France. Foremost among these forbidden societies, were the Jesuits. Their chief aim had ever been education, and now they took it up with all possible vigor. By the year, 1838, they had so established themselves in the public life, that they approached the King through their leader and remonstrated against being looked upon as an enemy, declared that they were the monarchy's best friends, and that the time had come when, through their common right, they should be granted freedom of association and liberty of teaching. The party of Montalembert had now found powerful champions and the whole Catholic party put in a complaint that the government had failed to fulfill its promises in giving the Church the desired control over secondary education. Throwing all masks aside, they entered upon a bitter campaign to secure their so-called liberties. The chief means used to accomplish their ends was a disgusting campaign of calumny and outrages to destroy the University, the guardian of the nation's system of education. Innumerable pamphlets were distributed charging the University with being a hotbed of atheism and barbarism. The religious journals scattered the same kind of inflammatory material, powerfully supported by the catholic pulpits all over the country. The only hope for France as these denunciators pictured it, was in the establishment of purely christian schools where the truth could be taught. These christian schools of course meant the schools of the Church. The country was so aroused over the controversy that it seemed as though civil war must surely result.(1)

The campaign of calumny against the state schools brought out a very ardent defense of civil education and charges were made against the religious associations especially those of the Jesuits. Not only were they charged with being a great political menace to the country but also propagators of a debased system of morals. The

(1) Rapports des Eglises et de L'Etat en France, 1789-1870,
A. Debidour, pp. 449

Opposition to the Hierarchy and Reaction- Conclusion

protest soon grew to be so strong that the government was forced to take action. An ambassador was sent to Rome, not to urge a correction of the evils but to induce the Pope to use his influence to restore order. It was not as an independent government protesting against the encroachments on its authority, that the representative of Louis-Phillipe went to Rome; but as a suppliant to induce the Sovereign Pontiff to help him in time of trouble. The ambassador pointed out to the Pope that it would not be necessary for him to do away with the Jesuits entirely but merely to give the public the impression that they had been dissolved. They might continue their work in some way not so open to public view. The Holy See agreed and the ambassador of France returned to proclaim that the mission had been successful and that the Vatican would dissolve the order in France. The plan was put into operation. A few of the Jesuit houses were closed and their members transferred to other congregations, secret methods were again resumed, and the work of the order went on as before.(1)

The last of Louis-Phillipe's reign saw a little lull in the campaign of the clerical party. This was brought about in the first place, by the strong movement surging in France as in other European countries, threatening the overthrow of the monarchy and the establishment of a Republic. It was aided also by the advent of a new Pope, Pius the Ninth, whose early manifestations of liberalism raised the hope that the long looked for union of religion and democracy was soon to be realized. The year 1848 was characterized by revolutionary movements in the various countries of Europe. France went through a similar convulsion which resulted in the overthrow of the monarchy of King Louis-Phillipe and the establishment of the second French Republic.

The overthrow of Napoleon and the re-establishment of the monarchy under Louis the Eighteenth gave opportunity for the long consummated alliance between Monarchists and Ultramontanes to control the destinies of France. Louis the Eighteenth was a fairly strong and liberal minded person and under more favorable circumstances, would probably have governed his country more wisely. The power of his clerical supporters overcame all opposition, and entered upon its program of restoring the former supremacy of the Church. Charles the

(1) Rapports des Eglises et de l'Etat en France, 1789-1870,
A. Debidour pp.467f

Conclusion-Bibliography

Tenth was an extreme Ultramontanist himself, consequently the years of his reign were more reactionary than those of his predecessor. The extreme papal character of the government with its utter disregard for French liberties brought about a revulsion in public sentiment which resulted in the overthrow of the King and the raising to the throne of Louis-Phillipe. The conditions under which the new king came to the throne foreboded a change in the government policy but no change came. The revolutionary character of the times, with its attendant menace to monarchical government drove the King more and more into the hands of the Clericals as his only hope of retaining the throne. The comparative lull in clerical activity that marked the close of the Restoration Period and the establishment of the Second Republic was merely the outcome of circumstances and not a sign of lessening clerical influence. This whole period was one of extreme reaction. Gallicanism was almost unheard of. Ultramontanism was supreme. The congregations came back in great numbers headed by the ever active Jesuits. The loss of power that resulted from the confiscation of church property in the time of the Revolution was repaired by the progress made in making the Church supreme in the matter of education. The teachings of Lamennais seconded by those of Montalembert, served to increase the hope which was making considerable headway, of a possible harmonizing of the Church with the revolutionary idea of democracy. The liberal character of the new pope, Pius the Ninth, served to increase this hope and thus the period ends.

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When the end of Louis-Philippe's reign was foreseen, the clergy showed little regret. While they had received a great many favors from him, they never felt that they really could trust him. However, his new conception of democracy set forth by Lamennais, Montalembert, and their followers had created great hopes of what might be accomplished for Christianity if the Republic should be established. The only real desire the Papacy had concerning a government was its submission to the will of the Holy See. It never had shown any unwillingness in betraying one that had betrayed it. If the support of another appeared to be more advantageous, it was just such a case of expediency as its own interests, that had brought the Church to throw its weight on the side of the Revolution of 1848. He would not have been surprised if public opinion had been established then one of the leading parties of the new Republic declared, "The Revolution of 1848 was a new chapter of Providence, that France, which had thought itself a kingdom, was now a Republic, and that there should be no more kings, but only the French Catholics." (1) The Archbishop of Paris, who was in favor of the new Republic, said publicly, "The Republic is the only form of government that the Republic has ever produced in France. It is the only form of government that Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity were from the beginning of the Gospel, and that the best friends of the people were the priests. Masses were said in public places calling upon a blessing upon the Republic while in the towns and villages, towns of liberty were

(1) Rapports des Eglises et de l'Etat France, 1789-1870,
A. Debidour pp. 438

Chapter 8
Reign of Louis-Napoleon

Influence of the Teachings of Lamenaïs- Clerical Enthusiasm for the Republic-Political Parties and the Monarchy-Price of Clerical Support for Napoleon-Napoleon Restores the Pope to Rome-Pope Fails to Reform His Rule-Clerical Fight for Control of Education-Clerical Humanitarian Societies-Clerical Approval of the Empire-French Favors to the Papacy-Pope Refuses to Crown Napoleon-Napoleon Decides to Help Italy-Napoleon Halts His Plan to Please Rome-Treaty of Villafranca-New Embarrassments from the Pope-The New Liberalism-French Favors to the Pope in France and Italy-Calling of Vatican. Council-Papal Dominance-France Insulted by Schema de Ecclesia-Declaration of Infallibility-Effect on Gallicanism-War of 1870-Relation of It's Cause to Pope and Napoleon-Cost of Napoleon's Enslavement to Rome

By the time of the Revolution of 1848, the teachings of Lamenaïs had exercised a great influence over the life of France. Socialists and other radical reformers had found a basis for their beliefs in the teachings of Jesus. Many good Christians and among them a great number of Catholics were looking for a reconciliation of the Church with the ideas of liberty and progress.

When the end of Louis-Phillipe's reign was foreseen, the clergy showed little regret. While they had received a great many favors from him, they never felt that they really could trust him. Moreover the new conception of democracy set forth by Lamenaïs, Montalembert, and their followers had created great hopes of ant might be accomplished for Clericalism if the Republic should be established. The only real desire the Papacy had concerning a government was its submission to the will of the Holy See. It never had shown any unwillingness in betraying one that had befriended it, if the support of another appeared to be more advantageous. It was just such a hope of advancing its own interests, that now brought the Church to throw its weight on the side of the Revolution of 1848. No sooner had the Second Republic been established than one of the leading journals of the Catholic Church declared, " The Revolution of 1848 was a manifestation of Providence, that France, which had thought itself monarchical, was now republican, and that there should be no more sincere Republicans than the French Catholics." (1) The Archbishop of Paris said a mass in honor of the newborn democracy. From Catholic pulpits, it was declared that the Republic had been proclaimed by Christ from Golgotha, that Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity were from the teachings of the Gospel, and that the best friends of the people were the priests. Masses were said in public places calling heaven's blessings upon the Republic while in the towns and villages, trees of liberty were

(1) Rapports des Eglises et de L'Etat France, 1789-1870,
A. Debidour pp. 438

8 Political Parties and the Monarchy-Price of Political Support for Napoleon Third.

blessed by the priests.

The composition of the new Assembly was varied. It consisted of Liberals, the most of whom stood in fear of Socialism; Royalists, some of whom supported the Count of Paris and some the Count of Chambord; and finally, Bonapartists who were also considerably divided. Among all of these classes, there were people who, Catholics above everything else, were working for the good of the Church. The idea was general that the Concordat and Organic Articles should be changed so as to be made to harmonize with the Republic but every attempt to accomplish this end, failed through lack of agreement. The higher clergy were opposed to any change that would lessen their influence and insisted that before any alterations were made, they must have the approval of the Pope. THE more liberal element was anxious to have some change made in the method of appointment of the lower clergy, inasmuch as the method then used made them too dependent on the papal-controlled bishops. The higher clergy opposed this change, unless it could meet the approval of the Holy See, a foregone impossibility. In this way, all change in the Concordat was made impossible.

From the time that Louis-Napoleon came into power in the New Republic, he showed himself very favorable to the Clericals but they were not satisfied. What they wanted was not favors but domination. In the great revolutionary wave that swept over Europe in 1848, the Pope had lost his temporal possessions although he still retained his papal office. According to the ideals of papalism, the true character of the papacy could not be maintained without its temporal domains. On this account, the Ultramontanes in France, wrote two planks in their platform; the first called for the return of the Pope to Rome and the restoration of his possessions, and the second, the dominance of education in France by clerical control. (1)

In the general election for the presidency of the Republic, the clergy lent their support to Napoleon, not because of any admiration of the man but because he seemed to be the best tool at hand for the accomplishment of their ends. Montalembert, as agent for the Ultramontanes, visited Napoleon and offered him the support of the Church if, on his part, he would agree to the return of the Pope to Rome and to turn the University over into the hands of the clergy. To this, the aspiring politician gave his consent. (2) The proffered support was

(1) *L'Eglise et L'Etat en France 1789-1870*, A. Debidour pp. 491

(2) *Ibid* pp. 494

Napoleon's Restoration of the Pope to Rome

given him and he became the President of the Republic.

Having taken up the reigns of government, the first thing that Napoleon found demanding attention was the Roman problem. All through his reign, this politician faced endless embarrassment on account of his attempt to please both sides. In his younger days, he had assisted the revolutionary elements in Italy and deep in his heart, there was a wish to see national unity attained in that land.(1) Promises, general policy, and the influence of an ardent catholic wife drove him the other way. Austrian rivalry in Italy induced the French to send an army into Piedmont to help Victor Immanuel, the result of which was the establishment of this kingdom upon the basis of a liberal constitution. Napoleon hoped that the same thing might be accomplished for the papal states. The Pope would thus be restored to Rome under a liberal constitution and the much needed reforms of those states would be secured.

We cannot give with any completeness, the story of the French expedition to Rome in fulfillment of Napoleon's pledge to restore the Pope. It is a long and disgusting recital of political intrigue, absolutely bereft of any great principles of honor and justice. It suffices to once more trace the picture of French citizens and officials betraying the interests of their country for the benefit of a foreign court. The French representatives at the Holy See used the authority of their offices to bring about the triumph of papal interests even when these were in utter opposition to orders received from the authorities at Paris. They maintained at the camp of the French army, men manifestly more interested in the interests of the papacy than of France. They surrounded the French Commander with a council of priests and foreign officers to urge him on to carry out the wishes of the Holy See.(2) Most of the French officers of the expedition were ancient servitors of the Orleanist or Legitimist Monarchy and ready to sacrifice their own national government to the interests of the papacy. Through the influence of these papal sympathizers, France broke faith with the Roman Republic, the French army entered Rome by force, and the authority of the Sovereign Pontiff was restored, with all its former vigor.

Napoleon was none too happy over the fate of the Republican elements in Italy and the unconditional re-establishment of

(1) Rome et Napoleon le Troisieme, E. Bourgeois et E.Clermont, pp.6
(2) Ibid pp.194

8 Pope Fails to Reform His Rule-Clerical Fight for Control of Education

the Pope. Therefore, he sent to the Holy Father, a demand, almost imperative, that he issue a general amnesty, secularize the administration, establish the Napoleonic Code, and set up a liberal government. The Pope was in no mood to be frightened and he made reply by certain apparent reforms that he never made any attempt to carry out. The French President was very much incensed at the outcome and the attendant disgrace of restoring such an odious government but he had stepped into the trouble for policies' sake and he could not turn back. He expressed regrets over the demands that he had made of the Pope, realizing that his alliance with the Clerical Party had cost him his freedom and tried to content himself in following out the course that policy had forced upon him.

One aim of the Clerical Party had been accomplished in the restoration of the Pope to Rome. Clerical control over education remained unattained. To secure this, they now turned their attention.

A committee of the Assembly, under the presidency of Jules Simon, had previously been appointed to consider the problem of education. This committee now made its report upholding the University and the state control of education. The report was not even discussed. Falloux, the Minister of Education, had presented another plan that met the hearty approval of the reactionary legislative body. After considerable discussion and the addition of several even more reactionary amendments, it became the law of the land. (1) The reactionaries would gladly have destroyed the University entirely, had that seemed possible. But recognizing the impossibility of such a move, they contented themselves with the next best thing, its complete control. To this end, the ancient Royal Council of the University was changed to the Superior Council of Public Instruction and its membership so constituted, as to give to their party, complete control. To the council thus constituted, they gave the complete control over education, with authority over matters of public instruction, regulation of examinations and courses of study, supervision of free schools, teachers, lycees, and colleges, the financial support of private institutions, designation of books to be used in the schools, and finally matters of discipline.

The control of local educational matters was still further taken away from the state, by the division of the country into depart-

(1) Loi du 15 Mars 1850 sur L'Enseignement, Pieces Justificative
Rapports de L'Eglise et de L'Etat en France 1789-1870
A. Debidour pp. 701

8 Clerical Fight for Control of Education-Clerical Humanitarian Societies-Clerical Approval of the Empire

mental councils, so constituted as to be dominated by the Church, and into whose hands were placed both the supervision of primary and secondary schools of their department. The program of instruction was made primarily moral and religious. Obligatory education was done away with. As concerns instructors, all requirements for a diploma on the part of the priests or members of the congregations were dropped while they were still demanded of all lay teachers. This resulted, as one would naturally expect, in a monopoly of teaching by the clergy. These and other regulations of the Falloux Law secured for the reactionary party the desired control of education in France,

The Clericals were not yet satisfied and, continuing their campaign, increased their hold over the people by a virtual monopoly in the running of hospitals, the care of the poor, and other humanitarian enterprises. Clerical participation in higher education was increased, the liberty of the press revoked, and finally all trace of election to the Superior and Department Councils was removed and the appointment of Council members was put entirely into the hands of the government.

To repay Louis Napoleon for the wonderful help that he had given them, the clergy rallied to his support when he desired popular approval for his assumption of the office of emperor. He received the magnificent popular vote of eight million.

As an illustration of how clerical control grew in France during these years at the expense of the national independence, one need only recall that the clergy kept up a free intercourse with Rome, papal bulls were issued in France, and synods and councils freely held, all without any approval of the government whatever. Cardinals held seats in the Senate, the budget for ecclesiastical support grew enormously, the number of congregations increased rapidly, and the property of these orders mounted in an alarming way. Monasteries recovered their old privilege of inviolability so that even officers of the law might not enter them. It seemed as though the representatives of Rome had only to ask for something and they secured it. What more could they ask for than a sovereign like Napoleon the Third.

This spirit of harmony between the government of France and the Vatican was soon to be darkened. This came about largely as a result of two incidents. In the first place, Napoleon, following in the

8 Pope refuses to Crown Napoleon-Immaculate Conception of the
Virgin Mary-Napoleon Decides to Help Italy.

footsteps of his noted uncle, desired that his ascension to the imperial throne might be after true imperial fashion, namely at the hands of the Pope. Pius the Ninth was skeptical about such a move fearing lest the effect on the other rulers would be to create hostility toward himself. It was impossible for Napoleon to see it in this light however, and he looked upon the refusal as a mark of gross ingratitude after all he had done for the Church. This led him to turn away from the policy of favoring the Holy See and to looking with greater favor upon the struggles of the patriots of Italy. This turn of mind was increased still more by another act of Pius the Ninth. The Pope having won back his temporal possessions and gained so many other victories that increased his prestige, began to hope for the realization of the ideals laid down by Popes Boniface the Eighth, Innocent the Third, and others, of becoming an absolute monarch. The recognition of papal infallibility would be a long step in this direction. As a preparation for such a dogma, Pope Pius the Ninth gathered a little body of subservient bishops at Rome, to whom he declared in his full pontifical authority, the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary. This was a revolutionary step in ecclesiastical affairs, perfectly in accord with Ultramontanism but very much frowned upon by all persons, lay or clerical, who retained any devotion for the Gallican Liberties. The bull which declared this dogma was finally admitted to France, but only after the government had made manifest its displeasure. Napoleon was incensed still more by the fact that some of the French bishops had published the bull without waiting for the decision of the Council of State.

Driven on by this growing bitterness toward the papacy, Napoleon gradually matured a union with the Piedmontese to drive the Austrians out of Italy. Never was the dissimulation of the Emperor more apparent than at this time. Part of the time, he seemed to be on the best of terms with the papacy and the next moment, affairs were at the breaking point. The mind of the Emperor was finally made manifest by a little pamphlet issued by one of his confidants, entitled, "The Emperor Napoleon the Third and Italy", in which he denounced all the governments of Italy opposed to the spirit of reform, the papal government not excepted; developed the theory of nationalities, and finally expounded the necessity of driving the Austrians out of Italy and of establishing an Italian confederation.

(1) Proclamation of Napoleon the Third, May 2, 1809

Constitutions and Documents, F. M. Anderson pp. 588f

(2) Arrêtée of Villafraña, July 11, 1809

Ibid

pp. 591f.

The Treaty of Villafranca

Not long afterwards, the French army had crossed the Alps and was on its way to deliver Italy to the Adriatic, as the Emperor said, But the power of the Holy Father was not to be touched. (1)

In the campaign that followed, the natural affection of Napoleon for national aspirations of the Italians found vent in different ways but he was unable to see just how far the movement he had started was to go nor was he ready to wholly ally himself with the cause of the patriots. He came to realize where the move was taking him when the various Roman provinces put up their demand for a united Italy to be brought about by union with Piedmont. If this should be carried out, it would mean a complete break with the Pope and the loss of all clerical support. The bitter attack of the French clergy against him and his policies, together with the pleadings of the Empress moved him to put an end to the campaign. This was brought about by the signing of the treaty of Villafranca. (2) This treaty prevented the realization of the hopes of a united Italy, established an Italian confederation under the nominal presidency of the Pope, and called upon the papacy to introduce the necessary reforms into the papal states.

This treaty was made with Austria without the consent of either the patriots of Italy or the papacy and was unsatisfactory to both parties. The Italian States were to be satisfied with nothing less than the desired unity and the Pope was unwilling to compromise the arrogant papal claims. Napoleon did everything that he could to bring both sides to accept the terms of the treaty but to no avail. Every day saw the growth of clerical opposition to Napoleon in France. The most venomous invectives were hurled at him, especially was he taunted as being a second Pontius Pilate. The Emperor longed for some way out of his trouble and sought for some satisfactory excuse for the withdrawal of the French troops from Italy. Finally an agreement was reached with King Victor Immanuel by which the King of Italy agreed not to attack the actual possessions of the papacy but would rather protect them. France, in turn, was to withdraw its troops gradually from Rome, as the Pope accomplished the organization of a suitable army of his own, capable of maintaining the authority of the Holy See. The only condition that was imposed on this papal army was that it was not to degenerate into a force to attack Italy. Italy, on its part, did not renounce its claim to Rome

(1) Proclamation of Napoleon the Third, May 3, 1859

Constitutions and Documents, F. M. Anderson pp. 568f

(2) Armistice of Villafranca, July 11, 1859

Ibid

pp. 571f.

as its capital nor did it promise to use anything but moral and pacific means to carry out the agreement. France was likewise cautious and refused to promise that she would not interfere again, should a situation arise that warranted it.

If Napoleon thought that the new arrangement would bring him any peace, he was much mistaken. The papal court began by putting on an affected silence concerning the pact that had been drawn up without consulting the Pope. The papal secretary refused to receive the official communication regarding it while, at first, the Pope was unwilling to see the French ambassador who had come to explain the different articles that made up the treaty. Not content with this indirect manifestation of displeasure, the Pope did all in his power to embarrass the Emperor by stirring up the Mexican clergy against Maximilian the Nephew of Napoleon, who was engaged in the Mexican venture. To cap the climax of a series of papal offenses, there came from Rome, the encyclical *Quanta Cura* to which was attached the *Syllabus* with its twenty-four propositions, containing a most scathing attack on all modern ideas, the French heritage from the Revolution. This document condemned such things as modern science, philosophy, the separation of Church and State, destruction of the temporal power of the Pope, and the idea that the Sovereign Pontiff is able and should reconcile himself with liberalism and modern civilization. (1)

The effect of this last attack on the ideas of the modern state and modern society was very displeasing to the French government. There were only a few ecclesiastics who retained enough of the spirit of Gallicanism to take a definite stand against the position of the Pope. The few who did dare to speak found their lot made none too easy for them. The Free-Thinkers, Liberals, and Democrats rejoiced over the character of the papal decrees because they expected their extremeness to provide an effective weapon by which to advance their own cause. A body of young thinkers had grown up who were making a bitter attack on religion as it was then constituted, especially the Catholic religion. Some of them even went so far as to substitute history, science, and right in the place of faith and the gospel. Humanity held the place of prominence instead of God. Atheism and Socialism had many champions.

- (1) *L'Encyclical Quanta Cura et le Syllabus in Pieces Justificative Rapports de L'Eglise et de L'Etat en France*, A. Debidour pp. 719ff

(1) *Des Rapports de L'Eglise et de L'Etat en France*, A. Debidour pp. 719ff
(2) *History of the Papacy in the Nineteenth Century*, F. H. Hallam Vol. 2 pp. 278f

8 French Favors to the Pope in France and Italy-Withdrawal of French Troops from Rome

Napoleon was in an embarrassing position. He was much displeased with the Pope and, at first, made his displeasure manifest but when he saw the bitter opposition that his Italian policies raised among the clergy toward him, he began to feel that perhaps he had made a mistake. France was experiencing a strong and growing demand for a republic at this time, and Napoleon fully understood that he could ill afford to lose the support of the French clergy so he changed his policies, went back on his Cabinet Minister Duruy who had but recently presented a report demanding gratuity and obligation in primary education, and dismissed Prince Napoleon from the Vice-Presidency of the council for having declared, in a speech, that France must never go back on the Revolution.(1) But even this change in the Emperor failed to secure for him the good will of the Pope, who continued to embarrass him whenever an opportunity afforded.

Incensed by the continued hostility of the Holy See, Napoleon began the withdrawal of the French troops from Rome in 1865 and gave some added evidences of good will toward the unity of Italy. This still further increased the hostility of the Ultramontanes in France and the Emperor found his position even more uncomfortable. Prussia was haughty and presenting a new threat to France and the Empire, the Mexican venture had failed, and republican sentiment was becoming altogether too strong. Napoleon had become physically weakened through old age and the action of disease and, as he declined, more and more of the power fell into the hands of the Empress, an irreconcilable papist. This led to still further enslavement to Rome. To replace the army of France that was being withdrawn from Rome, Napoleon permitted the organization of the Legion of Antibes, both officers and men of which were taken from the regular French army without losing their French citizenship or their rating for advancement in the French army. Napoleon's action in this matter almost brought a rupture with Italy, (2) but still it failed to stop the attacks of the Pope and the clergy. The Emperor was on the horns of a dilemma and he was unable to free himself. He felt the need of clerical support in the face of the waning stability of the empire but the price that it was necessary for him to pay for it, was the keeping of the Pope at Rome and that was continually embroiling him in trouble. To extricate himself from his difficulty, he again appealed to the powers to help settle the papal

(1) Des Rapports de L'Eglise et de L'Etat en France, A. Debidour pp. 594

(2) History of the Papacy in the Nineteenth Century, F. Nielsen

Vol. 2 pp. 275f

The Calling of the Vatican Council-Papal Dominance

question. Germany had no desire to help the Emperor out of his difficulty nor to run the risk of compromising her position with Italy or the South German States. Austria was having trouble with the papacy and did not care to take a hand. No other nation came forward to help find a solution and the plan fell through.

Pius the Ninth had been anxious for a number of years to declare the dogma of papal infallibility and had taken certain steps in that direction. No other Pope had ever declared a dogma without the consent of a General Council as he had done in promulgating the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary. The condemnation of modern society in the encyclical *Quanta Cura* and the Syllabus had marked the second step. The Jesuits who had preached infallibility throughout the world for three hundred years, now formed a league to propagate it actively. The success accompanying this propaganda was, in the eyes of Rome, a sign that the project was approved. Accordingly, the Pope issued a bull, June 29, 1868, calling an ecumenical council to convene at Rome on the eighth of December in the following year.

Signs were plentiful that the Pope had no intention of giving any place in the council to the civil powers as had been done in previous councils. Formerly, the program of the council had been drawn up by the council itself. In this one, Pope Pius the Ninth appointed committees before the council assembled and from among his sympathizers, to put all things in readiness. The general impression went out that the council would be a short one and that the infallibility of the Pope would be declared by acclamation.

More than one nation was displeased with the calling of this council and especially with the idea of an infallible Pope who would not limit himself to spiritual matters but would be continually asserting himself in the field of civil affairs. France had made many sacrifices to uphold the papacy in the last thirty years and she might well be offended at the prospects. What would the government do? Under other circumstances the Emperor would undoubtedly have done differently. As matters stood, he was feeling the need of clerical support as never before to help prolong the life of the empire. Accordingly, he did nothing.

The Council met on the eighth day of December, 1869 with seven hundred and fifty members present. Very early in the proceedings,

(1) Schmaus de Sacrosancta, Given in Part 13

L'Eglise et l'Etat en France 1793-1870, A. Delille pp. 313

that the Emperor was obliged to face. To save his throne, only the Roman Court unmasked its intentions by presenting to the council, the Schema de Ecclesia which advanced the most autocratic views on the nature of the ecclesiastical government. It taught that the Church was a divine institution, perfect and irreformable: that religious tolerance is irreconcilable with its mission: that the Church is independent in every way from the civil powers; that the Church has the right, indirectly, to control and direct civil authorities; and finally, that the government of the Church pertained to the Bishop of Rome in perpetuity and by divine right, constituting not simply a primacy of honor by a real jurisdiction over the dioceses of Christianity.(1) These pretensions were made all the more alarming to the civil authorities, when the Pope issued two new rules for the governance of the Council. The first established that, upon petition of ten members, all discussion on any subject would be pronounced closed and the second established that the decisions of the assembly should not be by unanimity, as at other councils, but by simple majority vote. There could be no doubt from this time on as to the outcome of the council. The will of the Pope was sure to prevail.

All that Napoleon the Third dared to do was to make a feeble protest through his Foreign Minister. This protest had no effect and less than a month afterwards, the Holy Father had a "schema" on infallibility to be presented to the council. The papal secretary answered the French protest regarding the Schema de Ecclesia by expressing surprise that its teachings had been offensive as they were nothing new, simply what the Councils and Church had always approved. He said that while the Pope could not govern society directly, yet he was able to do it indirectly. The situation was now so aggravated that any government with any energy or independence would have done something to repress the affront but a plebiscite was about to be held to determine the life or death of the empire and Napoleon was in desperate need of all the help the clergy could give him. So all that he did was to despatch a memorandum to the Pope reproducing the objections made to the Schema de Ecclesia and requesting that they be presented to the council. To this request, the Pope made an absolute refusal. The outcome of the plebiscite was a semi-victory for the empire but the defections that were made manifest by it, denoted the seriousness of the situation

(1) Schema de Ecclesia, Given in Part in

L'Eglise et L'Etat en France 1789-1870, A. Debidour pp. 616

(1) L'Eglise et L'Etat en France 1789-1870, A. Debidour pp. 616

(2) Ibid pp. 624

Extract from Constitution de Ecclesia Christi

that the Emperor was obliged to face. To save his throne, only one thing seemed feasible, namely to enter upon a war that would gain time for him and permit the re-establishment of agreeable relations with the clergy. (1)

The Council had in the meantime been carrying on its work in conformity to the plan laid down in the Schema de Fida, reason and science had been subordinated to faith and then the matter of infallibility was hastened to a conclusion. There was considerable opposition to declaring the Pope infallibile but its opponents in the Council, lacked the courage to come out in the open and fight it on the ground that it had been opposed by former councils and that it was out of harmony with tradition. Instead, they based their arguments on the plea that the time was inopportune and that it would be harmful to the Church. The uselessness of making opposition soon became apparent and most of the opponents left for home. When the final vote took place, there were only two who had the courage to vote no. The dogma, as it was given final form, (2) declared that when the Pope spoke ex cathedra, that is when in the discharge of his office as pastor and teacher of Christians, his teachings are infallible and irrevocable. To still further strengthen the teaching, it declared that his judgments were irrevocable in themselves and no by the consent of the Church. This dogma having been proclaimed, the Council was suspended, not dissolved. No Pope has ever yet seen fit to call that Council together again and why should he do so. The Council has lost all of its functions, the Pope is complete in himself.

The Council was brought to a close, not only because it had served its purpose, but because war had been declared between Prussia and France. The evacuation of Rome, begun in 1865, had been concluded by the following year. Inside of a year afterwards, Garibaldi had attacked the city and, to save the Pope, another French army was sent thither. Garibaldi was defeated at Mentana and once more Rome was in the possession of the French. The danger facing France from the expansion of Prussia, had afforded the opportunity sought by Napoleon the Third to enter into war and save his empire.

In the time preceding the war, attempt had been made to form an alliance between Austria, France, and Italy to stay the progress of Prussia. Only the removal of one more difficulty was necess-

(1) L'Eglise et L'Etat en France 1789-1870, A. Debidour pp. 621

(2) Ibid pp. 624

Extract from Constitution de Ecclesia Christi

8 War of 1870-Cost of Napoleon's Enslavement to Rome-
Conclusion

ary and that alliance could be accomplished. That difficulty lay in the refusal of Napoleon to allow Italy to take possession of Rome as its capital. If this had been done, it would have meant dispossessing the Pope of his temporal possessions with an attendant loss of clerical support to Napoleon and the empire. Even after the war had begun and the need of Italian help had become almost imperative, the Emperor still persisted in his demand for the saving of the temporal power of the papacy. This continued up to within one month of the disaster at Sedan. In the midst of the hopelessness of the situation as it then appeared, the Prince Napoleon was sent by the Emperor on a secret mission to King Victor-Immanuel, with full powers to accept whatever conditions Italy might lay down, provided only that an Italian army of 70,000 men should be immediately put in the field along with France. The Prince carried a blank treaty previously signed by the Emperor, for the King of Italy to fill in as he wished.(1) But Napoleon had delayed too long Sedan came too soon, the French army was defeated, and the empire was at an end.

Napoleon the Third had enslaved himself to the papacy, silenced his own conscience to uphold the temporal power of the Pope, and had assisted the Ultramontanes to carry out their most cherished designs in France. It probably would have been impossible to have convinced the Napoleon the Third of 1848, that he would ever become the papal tool that we find him in 1870. His earlier sympathies had been with people struggling for liberty but he was dominated by a passion for power. He wished to make himself another Napoleon the Great. Had he possessed the character of his great ancestor, the outcome might have been different. He played politics like the former Emperor but with less moral consistency, less ability, and less success. Napoleon Bonaparte re-established the Roman Catholic Church because he recognized the necessity of it for the security of the State and he worked with persistency, to save himself and his government from the attendant papal domination. Napoleon the Third, in order to realize his own personal ambitions, threw himself without reserve into the hands of Clericalism and, being unable to extricate his government from its grasp without menacing his own power, ended by becoming the tool of Rome.

When the empire ended, there was little that the Ultramontanes had hoped for in France, that were not realized. The religious

(1) Rome et Napoleon le Troisieme, E. Bourgeois et E. Clermont, pp.333

Conclusion-Bibliography

orders were flourishing, not only in numbers but also in wealth. Without government permission, papal bulls were issued in France, religious assemblies held at will, freest intercourse with Rome enjoyed by the clergy, in fact all things desired by the Holy See were readily done without regard to the wishes of the French government. Above everything else, the great ambition of the Ultramontanes for clerical control of education had been accomplished. Through the enactment of the Falloux Law, the State as educator had been overthrown and the Church had become the school teacher of France.

The declaration of papal infallibility was only the natural outgrowth of the state of mind that Rome had manifested for years. Considering the subserviency of France to the papacy during the empire, there seemed little reason why this country should utter any protest. Napoleon the Third had found the papacy true to its type. He had completely enslaved himself to it and done everything to realize the program of its emissaries, but what was his reward? When the Pope found that the Emperor would not completely submit himself to his will and that the papacies' best interests lay in other hands he turned against him, helped overthrow the empire, and thus paved the way for the Republic, an institution that in papal eyes had been considered satanic.

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(1) True History of the Vatican Council, H. E. Manning, pp. 204
(2) Declaration of the Independents of Paris, April 1, 1871
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Chapter 9
Period of Papal Dominance in the Third Republic

Effect of Infallibility on Gallicanism-Clerical Opposition to the Republic-Possibility of the Restoration of the Monarchy-Clericalism and the Paris Commune-Propaganda of the Pope as a Prisoner-Revival of Catholicism in France-Papal move in the Assembly-Failure of Monarchical Plots-Clerical Opposition to the Republic-Clerical Progress with Education-The Republic Grows in Favor-Clericals Bring France to the verge of War with Germany-Signs of Growing Republicanism-Pope Encroaches on French Law-Attitude of Pope Leo the Thirteenth toward France-The Pope's Attitude Divides France-Conclusion.

The close of the Vatican Council brought the relations of France and the Holy See to a very strained position. One of the avowed reasons why this council had been considered necessary with its attendant declaration of papal infallibility, was the heresy of Gallicanism with a denial of the supreme papal claim.(1) Shortly after the Council closed, Gambetta pronounced a funeral oration over the Gallican Liberties since, as he said, the national church of France was no more because the Vatican Council had denationalized it. If the voice of the French nation could have really made itself heard at this time, it would probably have been found still in harmony with the old decrees of 1682. A large part of the higher clergy of France had worked diligently to prevent the declaration of infallibility. Now that it had really been declared, there was no room left in the Church for any person who remained true to the teachings of Bousset. Without hesitation, the French episcopate almost to a man hastened to make submission to their infallible head and to bring the lower clergy into line with them. These latter with great earnestness, worked to rally their flocks to the holy cause. What was to be the outcome? If the government should stand by the old ideas, a break with the papacy must surely come, with the consequent separation of Church and State. On the other hand, if the Jesuit controlled forces were to bring the government into harmony with its will, France would face a period of enslavement to Rome such as the past had never seen.

Upon the overthrow of the empire, the government of France was vested in a Council for Defense.(3)The most of the men who made up this council were anti-catholic,many being deists or anti-religionists. It seemed as though nothing was possible but a definite collision between such a government and the Clericals. The strange thing happened, for, in the face of the great danger that confronted France as a result of the war and the desire to unite all of the people for the common defense, the government

(1) True History of the Vatican Council, H. E. Manning pp. 104

(2) Proclamation of the inhabitants of Paris, Sept. 4" 1870

Constitutions and Documents, F. M. Anderson, pp. 595f

Clerical Opposition to the Republic

showed itself very amiable toward the Ultramontanes and not only agreed not to do anything hostile to the Church but also called to the office of first President, General Trochu, a most ardent Catholic. The Minister of Worship was a Jew and he went to live at the home of Archbishop Gervert, to whom he intrusted the nomination of bishops. Thus was begun the practice of allowing the papal representative to name the person to occupy the vacant sees instead of the government asserting its right to this privilege as it was accorded in the Concordat of 1801. The practice here begun, lasted down almost to the time of the separation of the Church and State. In order not to offend the Church, the government of France refrained from encouraging the Italian government to make Rome its capital. The French ambassador did however felicitate King Victor-Immanuel on the "happy event" after the entrance had been made. When Garibaldi came to France to offer his services to help drive the Germans from the land, no attempt was made to stop the insults that were heaped upon him by papal sympathizers until he was forced to return to Italy. These instances of the complacency of the government toward Ultramontanes might be increased many fold.

In the light of this friendliness of the government, what did the clergy do to help those in political power meet the critical situation? Some of them surely did rally to the support of the government and did much to help out but the most of them, including some of the most liberal ones, bitterly condemned the despoilers of the Holy See and did all that they could to bring about the overthrow of the government. One of the bishops met with the Prince of Joinville to try and arrange for the overthrow of the monarchy and even wrote a letter to that end which letter was vouched for by Bismark.⁽¹⁾ Another of the bishops approached the King of Prussia to urge him to help restore Napoleon the Third. Former papal officers sought and obtained from the complacent government, high positions in the army, for which they were little qualified. They then turned around and used that position on behalf of the interest of the papacy and the monarchy with a view to the destruction of their own government.

The leniency of the government toward the Ultramontanes doubtless did much to create a popularity for the Catholic party. This resulted in the return of a very large clerical majority to the Assemb-

(1) L'Eglise Catholique et L'Etat sous la Troisieme Republique,
A. Debidour Vol. 1 pp. 17

9 Possibility of the Restoration of the Monarchy-Clericalism
and the Paris Commune-Propaganda of the Pope as Prisoner

ly in 1871 and the reduction of the republican members to about one-third of the whole body. The new Assembly was composed of Republicans, a few Bonapartists, a larger number who favored the Count of Chambord and stood for the old idea of the monarchy by divine right and a still greater number who favored the Count of Paris, the candidate of the Orleanists and a believer in constitutional monarchy. One thing was apparent and that was that the monarchy could not be restored unless its advocates could unite and they showed little disposition to do this. Such a situation was the only thing that saved the Republic from destruction. While the Monarchists could reach no unity as to a candidate for the throne, they were completely one in subserviency to the Church. Both branches had as a definite aim of their party, the restoration of the Pope's temporal possessions and the subjection of France to the Church.

This was the time (1871) that the conflict between the government and the Commune took place, one of the saddest events in all French history and in which, some twenty thousand people were killed. At the bottom of all this trouble, was the clerical party and its plottings. (1) Paris was recognized as the stronghold of Republicanism and of anti-Catholicism. (2) For this reason, it was bitterly condemned by the clergy throughout France. On the other hand, the clerical character of the government, especially as it was seen in the Assembly, led the liberal elements to fear that the control of affairs was falling back into the hands of the reactionaries to the ultimate restoration of the Monarchy and Clericalism. It was out of this situation that the Commune grew. The indecision of the government and its desertion of Paris permitted the troubles to reach very great proportions.

The Clericals had in the meantime, entered upon their campaign to restore the temporal powers of the papacy. Some of the methods employed were ingenious as well as disgraceful. They made as much capital as possible out of the unfortunate condition of the Pope who had gone into voluntary seclusion in the Vatican, thus to make his protest against the loss of the papal states. The picture of the Pope as it was presented to the people of France was not that of His Holiness basking in the great comforts of the glorious Vatican, as was really the case, but of the poor unhappy sovereign indignities and hardships in a little cell behind iron bars. Pictures were even circulated through

(1) L'Eglise Catholique et L'Etat sous la Troisieme Republique,

A. Debidour Vol. 1 pp 30ff

(2) Declaration of the Paris Commune, Constitution and Documents,

F. M. Anderson, pp 609ff

9 Revival of Catholicism in France-Papal Move in the Assembly

France showing the poor man on his bed of straw. Every stroke was given to the picture that would move the hearts of the people with pity. Not one word came from Rome to halt this campaign of lies. The purpose, method, and all was apparently in perfect harmony with the authorities at Rome.

Another means of accomplishing this same end was the so-called revival of Catholicism in France. The means employed were not such as would appeal to the intelligence of people but everything that would arouse the emotions and stir up the spirit of fanaticism. Hence there was a great increase in the number of pilgrimages, veneration of saints and relics, working of miracles, and such a degradation of worship into idolatry as almost to lose sight of God. One of the societies organized at this time, was that of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. The supposed heart of Jesus was produced for the occasion and the salvation of France was preached as only possible through its devotion to the Sacred Heart. "Save France and Rome in the name of the sacred heart." was the refrain that was put to music and sung with the greatest fervor, over all the land. As a result of this movement, there was built on the hill of Montmarte near Paris, that great shrine consecrating France to the Sacred Heart of Jesus and stamped with official sanction by project of law. What a monument this great shrine is to the bondage of the French government to Clericalism!

Another important factor in the revival of Catholicism was Social Catholicism. This was a pretended appeal to the working classes and embodied a condemnation of everything modern, being scarcely more than a commentary on the Syllabus. The solution of all of the troubles of the laboring man was to be found only in the restoration of the ancient faith, including the restoration of the papacy. The leader of this movement was a soldier by the name of De Mun and, in spite of the fact that he was still in the active service, the government did nothing to stop his railings.

So popular had Clericalism become in France that the Pope was emboldened to make a personal appeal to the French government for aid in bringing about a restoration of his states. Thiers, who was now president, recognized the danger of such a move and, while expressing sympathy for the papal cause, declared the movement, in opportune and unwise. The Assembly was not so judicious and openly manifested its

9 Failure of Monarchical Plots-Clerical Opposition to the Republic

desire to see the papal states restored and even sent a petition to the Pope signed by forty-eight members of that body expressing their absolute adhesion to the doctrinal authority of the encyclicals wherein they dealt with the essential relations of civil and religious society, declaring their belief in the indispensibility of the temporal powers of the Holy See, and renewing their vows for a continued diplomatic demonstration against the sacriligious usurpations of Italy. These and other like incidents so offended the Italian government that it gradually turned away from France toward Germany and Austria and finally consummated the famous Triple Alliance with all of its menace for the safety of France.(1)

Meanwhile renewed efforts were being made to destroy the Republic and to re-establish the Monarchy. To bring about the necessary unity of forces, it was arranged that the Count of Chambord should adopt the Count of Paris, the former to be concentrated on as the candidate to the throne and the latter to follow in regular succession as the legal heir. The only thing that now stood in the way of the success of the move, was the stubborn insistence of the Count of Chambord on a monarchy of the old legitimist type, with the restoration of the White Flag as its symbol. (2) The people of France were not willing to part with the Tricolor, surrounded as it was, with all the glories of the past. Thus the Restoration was again prevented. During all of this time, the clergy of France, with the help of the Pope, did all in their power to help bring about the restoration and flouted the government at every turn. The Pope never hesitated to break the Concordat at will, and the Organic Articles were treated as though they did not exist, except when they afforded some benefit to the hierarchy. The government was too busy paying the German indemnity and settling other problems of the war to run any risk of increasing clerical opposition, so it accepted all the affronts in a very docile way. Everywhere, in France and the colonies, the Church reaped great benefits during these years following the establishment of the Republic and increased its powers enormously.

Such successes were not enough however, especially in the light of the fact that their great ambition to control education was not fully realized. The watchword of the Liberals was for education that would be free, obligatory, and lay. For the purpose of influencing the government to secure this, they sent in a monster petition to the government

(1) Republican France, E. A. Vizitelly pp. 175

(2) The White Flag Letter, Const. & Documents, F. M. Anderson, pp. 628ff

9 Clerical Progress with Education-The Republic Grows
in Favor-Clericals Bring France to the verge of War with Germany

by 917000 names calling for action. The Minister of Education, Jules Simon, with ambitions for the presidency and desirous of pleasing the people, yet fearing to offend the Clericals, presented a very moderate bill (1) to the end that primary education should be made obligatory. This bill met strong opposition and was withdrawn. The clericals, not content with a negative victory, now presented a bill and secured its passage(2), putting into the hands of the Church, the control of the University, by assuring it a domination in the matter of appointment of its members. Thiers, who had been for the most part, a pliant tool of the papal party, had now become very much of a Republican and looked with alarm upon this new encroachment of the Church. His change of attitude was sufficient to make him unsatisfactory to the Clericals who brought about his political downfall and elected to the presidency, a soldier by the name of McMahon. The new president was a very ardent Catholic and one whom the Clericals felt would be obedient to their will.

In spite of the victories that the Ultramontanes had won, there was at least one thing that gave hope to the republicans. In spite of all opposition to it, the Republic was growing in public favor. All of the partial elections that had taken place in the preceding years had shown an increasing sentiment in that direction as manifested in the number of Republican representatives elected. It was out of the recognition of this new turn of the public mind that the Assembly, in spite of the bitterest opposition on the part of the Clericals, voted a permanent constitution for the Republic, thus making it the regular and not the temporary government of France. (2)

Still the clerical agitation continued. How little this class of people cared for France when the interests of the papacy were involved, can find no better illustration than the way in which they brought their country to the verge of war with Germany. Germany had passed some anti-Catholic laws that were very displeasing to the papacy. The French episcopacy, greatly stirred by the papal condemnation of these acts, became so violent in their attacks on the German government that the authorities at Berlin threatened to resort to arms unless the priestly tirade was stopped. MacMahon was put in a dilemma as he naturally wished to please the Pope, but the safety of France demanded that he act otherwise. He gave orders that the attack of the clergy should stop but this raised such fierce clerical opposition that it

- (1) Loi sur la liberte de l'enseignement superior,
in appendice L'Eglise et L'Etat sous la Troisieme
Republique, A. Debidour Vol. 1 pp. 419ff
(2) Documents on the Establishment of the Republic
Constitutions and Documents, E. M. Anderson pp. 631ff

9 Signs of Growing Republicanism-Pope Encroaches on the
French Law-Attitude of Pope Leo the Thirteenth toward France

brought about the fall of the ministry. The papal party preferred the destruction of France rather than that the will of the Holy See should be thwarted.

The progress of reaction now met a check. Popular opinion was all of the time growing more strongly republican. Gambetta and other popular orators were travelling all over France, delivering their bitter attacks against the tide of reaction. Everywhere they went, they met with great enthusiasm. Still further evidence of this growing republicanism was to be seen in the increase of papers and magazines expounding the cause of the Republic. Still further evidence of it was found in the growth of such societies as the League of Teaching and the French Masons. As a result of this growing sentiment, in the elections of 1876, the Clericals and Royalists suffered a severe defeat and in both branches of the Assembly, the Republicans made great gains. The republican majority in the Chamber of Deputies now became so strong that no coalition could overthrow it.

Although the Assembly was so overwhelmingly republican, yet it showed itself very moderate. But even in its moderate advances, it found itself balked by the opposition of the upper chamber and the President. The result was that conditions were not improved. Toward the last of the year 1876, Pope Pius the Ninth, making use of the "plenitude" of his power and contrary to French law, instituted a Catholic University at Lille, gave it a Chancellor, and bestowed upon it, among other privileges, the power of conferring all degrees. The import of this act was to show that, in the mind of the Pope, the laws of France did not exist and the whole French nation was subject to him. In spite of such an insult, the government made no protest, inasmuch as the President and Clericals were working together to divide the Republicans, bring about a new election so guided as to assure a clerical majority, inaugurate a coup d'etat, and restore the monarchy. In spite of all the well laid plans, the attack failed and the elections returned a still greater majority for the Republicans.

A change in the papal office, at this time, gave promise of a possible solution of the trouble. The new Pope, Leo the Thir-

9 The Attitude of Pope Leo the Thirteenth toward France-
The Pope's Attitude Divides France-conclusion

a Monarchy. As a sign of the temporary character of the Republic, teenth while holding himself formally bound to the policies of his predecessor, soon showed himself governed by a very different spirit. By means of the encyclicals that he issued, he tried to show that Catholicism was a religion of progress. Such an attitude seemed to hold out hope that an adaptation of the Church to modern times might be made. Then he looked upon religion and politics in a different way. He thought that the Pope should not identify himself with any political party lest, with the defeat of the party, the papacy should suffer. Likewise he thought it unwise to oppose any particular form of government. Rather the Church should relate itself to that particular government that offered the best chance of successful cooperation. He thought it was better to have the favor of the government by manifesting good will toward it, than to meet its opposition though threats and excommunications.

This attitude of the Pope served to divide the papal followers in France into two groups. The one was wholly uncompromising in its opposition to all things pertaining to the Revolution and upheld the temporal power of the papacy. It also stood for the monarchy and was led by the Count of Chambord who still retained visions of ascending the throne. The other party, more liberal in its views, refrained from condemning all things pertaining to progress and considered that it was folly to try and resurrect the past "from head to foot." The new election brought in a still stronger republican representation, even the Senate falling into their hands. MacMahon now found it necessary to resign and Jules Grevy became president 1879. Hopes for the restoration of the monarchy were becoming very small.

Original The Third Republic had been established when the overthrow of the Empire left France facing a dangerous enemy within its confines and without any organized government with which to carry on the war. The Council for National Defense was the expedient first used. This was soon displaced by a Republic that very few people thought would last for any great length of time. Its only reason for being was that the Monarchists were unable to forget their differences and establish

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a Monarchy. As a sign of the temporary character of the Republic, it was not given a written constitution. Some hastily drawn up and loosely joined together enactments gave form to the new government.

The Council for the National Defense was composed largely of men who were strongly anti-Catholic. These men contrary to their natural inclination, showed themselves very lenient toward the Church because of the need of clerical support to help drive out the invaders. Engrossed in the problems that followed the War of 1870 and needing all the possible help in order that the government might be established, the officers of the Republic played into the hands of the clericals and enslaved France to Rome to as great a degree as ever before.

In spite of the opposition that the spirit of democracy had to face from Ultramontanism and the Monarchists, it continued to grow in France. Before this period closed, Republicanism had become deeply rooted, the Republic had been given a constitution, the chances for a restoration of the Monarchy had grown very slim, and the possibility of a successful struggle to throw off the yoke of Rome had begun to materialize.

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Because of a direct attack on the Jesuits, the Clericals raised a great protest. They charged the government with persecuting the Church. In every way possible, they tried to stir up bitterness toward the Republic. Pope Leo the Thirteenth counselled moderation and tried to induce the French clergy not to do anything that would offend the French government. Even his efforts were in vain, the opposition continued. In spite of the difficulties put in his way, the government succeeded in the passage of two laws. The first one attempted to secure for the State, more control over general education but it proved of little material benefit. The other dealt with the matter of superior education and deprived the Catholic universities of their privilege of using the title of a university and also deprived them of power to grant the degrees of the Bachelors, Doctors, and Licentiates. The privilege of granting these degrees was given to the State alone. Although the Liberals won a great victory in securing the passage of these laws, they

(1) Loi relative a la liberte de l'enseignement superieur, in
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Chapter 10
Battling for Freedom from Rome

Renewing State Control over Education- Fight against the Jesuits-Bert's Charges-Liberating Measures in Education-Dangers from the Wealth of Congregations-More Gains in Liberating Education-Offsetting Clerical Propaganda-More Liberal Legislation-Pope's Interference in Internal Matters Brings Talk of Separation of Church and State-France still Lenient toward Rome- Pope Leo the Thirteenth's Attempt to Harmonize the Syllabus and the Republic-Attitude of the Grevy Government- The Clerical Croix-Beginning of the Anti-Jewish Campaign-Fall of Grevy Opens the Way for Boulanger-Pope's Campaign to Overthrow the Republic-Reasons for Governmental leniency toward Papalism- the Party of Deputy Pieu in the Assembly The Clergy's Leaning to the Bourgeoise-the Pope's Declaration for the Working Man-Pope's Friendliness toward the Republic- Encyclical Rerum Novarum-Pilgrimage of Workingmen to Rome- Pope calls on French Catholics to support the Republic Approval and Disapproval of the Pope-Government still Moderate toward Rome- Danger from Socialism-Purpose of Clerical Support of the Republic-Conclusion

The years 1879 and 1880 were largely taken up by the Republicans in their attempt to regain the control of education on the part of the State. The proposed laws submitted by the Minister of Education, Jules Ferry, contained, among other things, the famous article 7, which was to be a veritable battlefield for years to come. (1) The import of this article was to the effect that no one should be allowed to teach in the free or public schools, nor to direct an establishment of teaching of any kind, who belonged to a religious congregation which was unauthorized. Because of this stipulation in the law, which was in reality a direct attack on the Jesuits, the Clericals raised a great protest. They charged the government with persecuting the Church. In every way possible, they tried to stir up bitterness toward the Republic. Pope Leo the Thirteenth counselled moderation and tried to induce the French clergy not to do anything that would offend the French government. Even his efforts were in vain, the opposition continued. In spite of the difficulties put in its way, the government succeeded in the passage of two laws. The first one attempted to secure for the State, more control over general education but it proved of little material benefit. The other dealt with the matter of superior education and deprived the Catholic universities of their privilege of using the title of a university and also deprived them of power to grant the degrees of the Bachelorate, Doctorate, and Licentiate. The privilege of granting these degrees was given to the State alone. Although the Liberals won a great victory in securing the passage of these laws, they

(1) Le Clericalisme, Paul Bert pp. 12

(1) Loi relative a la liberte de l'enseignement superieur, in Appendice, L'Eglise Catholique et L'Etat sous la Troisieme Republique, A. Debidour, Vol. 1, pp. 435f

failed to secure the enactment of Article 7.

We have called attention to the dominating influence exercised by the Jesuits in France during the nineteenth century and this seems a suitable time to get a more definite picture of them and their workings. They used every opportunity to extend their power and were to be found everywhere exerting their influence, whether it might be in business, religion, or education. From the time that the society had been founded, stress had been laid on education. It is therefore, not a strange thing that, when the Church adopted the policy of dominating the French educational system, the Jesuits came to fill the most important place in that attempt. In the fight to try and laicise education as noted above, a most bitter attack was made on the Jesuit system of education by Paul Bert, in which he has given a vivid picture of the ecclesiastical schools. This picture is not the fanatical outburst of a hater of Catholicism but a logical exposition by a level-headed statesman, who substantiated the charges that he made, by reference to their own publications, for the most part books used by them in their schools.

The general charge that Bert made against their teaching was that it was irrational, immoral, and anti-patriotic which atrocities and deforms the spirit. He found that it developed dishonesty in many things that were taught. An example of this was the condoning of secret compensation. i.e. if a servant feels that he is not paid sufficient wages for his services, he may secretly take enough to make up the deficit and this without sin. It taught that the gravity of the crime followed the fortune of the robbed, rather than the circumstances of the robbery, stressed certain circumstances in which the petty thief was not obliged to make restitution, and even developed the possibility of interesting God in a theft. It taught and justified the infraction of civil laws, sanctioned the giving of false testimony, and established the nullity of the marriage vow in cases where heretics were involved. It developed sexual baseness, regarding which this author says.(1)"It manifests itself at first, in the study of that which they call ' matters scandalous,' that is to say, the sixth and ninth precepts of the decalogue and the desires of the husband; it manifests itself by a profusion of lascivious researches, a love for the obscene, details of unclean circumstances, which pass by a great deal, all of this that the

(1) Le Clericalisme, Paul Bert. pp. 65

(1) Le Clericalisme, Paul Bert pp.123

writers from Justin to Gamiana have been able to imagine." It developed untrustworthiness in character, for one was never able to know whether he could trust a person, in what he said or did, or whether that person might have some mental reservation or other mental attitude that annulled all. In this way, he found that girls might be betrayed regarding the marriage vow, a child might desire and secure his father's death, a brother might cheat his brother out of his lawful inheritance, one friend might betray another friend's most sacred secrets, and the offender in every instance, could find justification through what was called Probabilism or the Philosophic Sin.

In addition to the moral lapses that Jesuitism covered up, he found that they taught much that was irrational and that made its appeal to ignorance and fanaticism. A publication of the Annals of the Holy Child taught that it was sufficient to give some silver to the Holy Child in order that a person might receive things most precious. Various illustrations were given. One was an instance in which a woman was sick and in despair and another gave to the Holy Child for her, twenty-five francs to secure the ransom of a poor negro child. The woman then made her confession, communed, and immediately began to convalesce. Another little book taught, "It suffices to call upon St. Joseph to pass, without trouble, the most varied examinations, to triumph without care and without justice, in competitions most difficult: that it assists to the Bachelor's degree, to the brevet of capacity, to the examination of a notary, to the Licentiate's degree in law at Saint Cyr, to everything that is good." (1) Some catechisms teach disobedience to parents who send their children to other than Catholic Schools. The catechism of the diocese of Paris (1876) declares, "the vengeance of God pursues the Jews everywhere, they are captives and vagabonds." (2)

A little regarding the last charge that they are unpatriotic, needs also to be considered. The people were taught to give the first place to the Pope and as Bert says, "They do not speak of the present time, unless with a smile of disdain on their lips. This time is bad because it prepares the reign of equality and the sure triumph of liberty of conscience. They profess to hate and misrepresent all that we honor and love, all our heroes and all our martyrs. For them, the reason is because of the great riches possessed by the congregations."

(1) Le Clericalisme, Paul Bert. pp. 85

(2) Ibid pp. 93

(1) Le Clericalisme, Paul Bert. pp. 128

10
Education

Bert's Charges against the Jesuits-Liberating Measures in

services rendered to the Fatherland do not count before those rendered to the Church. In their eyes, France comes after Rome. Their teachings crammed with mysteries, are a daily protestation against the most precious things that the French Revolution has bequeathed to us, the liberty of conscience." (1)

It has seemed well to give this outline of the teachings of the Church of France because it helps one to understand, as nothing else can, the reasons for the enmity against the republic, the antagonism toward the Jew, the lesions of moral character, and other things that seem utterly unexplainable until we know what the people have been taught. With such a religious foundation, is it any wonder that the republican government had come to realize that there was very little hope of bettering conditions until the moulding of the minds of the French children was put in other hands?

After the failure to pass Article 7 and to free the country from the Jesuits, the Liberals were not willing to rest until more had been done to bring about their liberation. They went to work to take advantage of the laws that were already on the statute books and issued a government decree dissolving all Jesuit congregations within a period of three months, those performing the function of teaching being allowed two months additional. All of the other unauthorized congregations were given three months in which to secure authorization or be dissolved. These decrees brought forth the most bitter condemnation of the Clericals and threats of Civil war, should they be put into execution. The Pope also condemned them as violating the rights of the Church, but, in harmony with his policy, used very moderate language in expressing his condemnation. Many thought that the government would not dare to execute these decrees but, when the time came to put them into force, the officers took up the task although the clergy offered strenuous resistance. Even after the laws had been put into execution and the congregations dissolved, these societies began to come back again under the name of lay organizations.

They now brought to the front, the dangers that society was facing because of the great riches possessed by the congregations.

(1) Le Clericalisme, Paul Bert , pp. 128

10 More Gains in Liberating Education-Offsetting Clerical
Propaganda

Their immovable property at this time, was estimated at seven hundred and fourteen million francs and it had increased at the alarming rate of tenfold in the last thirty years. But the attempt to do anything to remedy the condition raised another cry of persecution and and new opposition. Nothing came of this attempt, excepting a slight increase in ecclesiastical taxes.

During the next few years, some progress was made in freeing France from the Roman yoke but it was slow work and meant a continual battle. Schools for girls, similar to those previously established for boys, were developed and grew with great rapidity. Immunity from military service on the part of the clergy, as had been established in 1872, was taken away. A law was passed providing that the directors whether male or female, of all primary schools, public or private and also of all infant schools, should possess, not only a brevet of capacity but also a certificate of fitness to be issued by the State. It also provided that all instructors should likewise possess a brevet of capacity. This law was designed to correct the abuses of such preceding laws as had made it easy for members of congregations to teach and had thus nearly driven out all lay teachers. In 1881, a law was passed that made primary education gratuitous but the attempt to make it obligatory failed.

The election of 1881 was a great victory for the Republicans but a difference of policy in the group represented by Ferry and Gambetta, who believed in getting as much as they could under the circumstances, and the more radical element, who would be satisfied with no halfway measures, nullified the victory and prevented further progress. A little later, under the ministry of Ferry, the greatest victory thus far won, came to them and a law was passed that made primary education both lay and obligatory. (1) This stirred the Church to a renewed attack on the Republic and the so-called atheistic schools. In this attack, they proclaimed that it was better to obey God rather than man, meaning that the Church should be obeyed rather than the State. The Clericals organized the Sacred League to make the enforcement of the law impossible but the Liberals were not asleep and organized the League of Teaching with branches all over the country to answer the new propaganda. A quotation from a manifesto of one of these leagues will show what the liberal minded people were thinking about. It said, " The future

(1) Loi du 28 Mars 1882 in Appendice L'Eglise Catholique et l'Etat sous La Troisieme Republique,
A. Debidour Vol. 1 pp. 445ff

10 More Liberal Legislation- Pope's Interference
in Internal Affairs Brings Talk of Separation of Church and State-
France Still Lenient toward Rome

of the Republic is at stake. The question is whether we are a sovereign nation, disposing of our own destinies without interference from without; whether the decrees of the national assembly have any need of being accepted at the vatican: and what should govern us, the laws of France or the laws of Rome.----Understand that one does not drive God out from the schools by bringing the fatherland into them". (1)

Taking advantage of the growing liberal sentiment, while a proposition dealing with the secularization of church property and the separation of Church and State was being defeated, a number of liberal measures were adopted. A law was secured relating to divorce. The word "God" was dropped from the public oath and religious emblems were suppressed in the tribunal. Civil funerals were officially recognized. Finally the Falloux Law was repealed and brevets of capacity were made obligatory for secondary teachers.

The Clericals made a bitter fight against these liberating measures especially those dealing with education. They even went so far as to refuse communion to those children who used certain books that were considered heretical and to their parents. The State answered back by refusing financial support to the priests who were responsible for such acts. The Pope also took a hand in the matter, and while using his accustomed moderateness, condemned the government for the restrictions placed on the Church and charged the State with impiety in its relation to religion. President Grevy replied in a tone of like moderateness but upholding the attitude of the State and laying the blame for all of the trouble on the clergy who showed such hostility toward the Republic. The great majority of the French nation was incensed to think that the Pope would even write such a letter to the president. A few minor abuses were corrected and the more radical element of the Liberals proposed a plan for the enforcing of the Concordat and the Organic Articles, and, failing in this, they were ready to attempt the separation of Church and State. The more moderate members were not willing to go so far and the liberation movement again marked time.

As Germany came to assume a more friendly attitude toward

(1) Histoire des rapports des eglise et de L'etat sous la
troisieme republique, A. Debidour Vol. 1. pp. 305

10 Pope Leo Thirteenth Tries to Harmonize the Syllabus and the Republic-Attitude of the Grevy Government-The Clerical Croix

Rome, the French government thought it advisable to refrain from unnecessary offense and treated the Church with greater leniency. The laws that had been enacted were not strictly enforced and some of the congregations that had been dissolved but had crept back outside the law, continued to do their work almost openly. Renewed effort on the part of the Liberals in the Assembly caused the Pope to send a papal bull to France, in which he used about the same arguments that he had in his letter to the president. This incensed the Republicans even more and brought about more liberal legislation.

One of the most interesting things to happen in this period was an encyclical of Pope Leo the Thirteenth issued in 1885 and in which, he tried to harmonize the Syllabus with support of the Republic. (1) The substance of this decree was that the form of government did not matter in the eyes of the papacy, so long as it served the Church. Debidour says that the Encyclical Immortale Dei was, " the theocracy establishing itself gently, by persuasion rather than by imposing itself brutally and without circumlocution, as was apparently the methods supported by De Mun. " (2)

Grevy, having been re-elected president, made Freycinct, the president of the Council. The new leader leaned toward radicalism and, in the first communication made by him to the Assembly, condemned the clergy for their recent activities in the election and concluded by saying, " such a situation could not continue forever---- and the grave problem of the separation of the churches and the State would not be slow in irresistably imposing itself upon them. "(3) The Republicans formed about two-thirds of the numbers of the Assembly at this time, but they were still divided so that very little was accomplished. The most important liberal legislation realized was an act barring all but lay teachers from the public schools.

In spite of the effort of the Pope to induce the clergy to be more moderate in their relations to the government, they continued their denunciations even to the threat of civil war. It was at this time that the clerical paper called "The Croix", was started. It made use of the privileges afforded to it by the laws on the freedom of the

(1) Encyclicals of Leo thirteenth pp. 107ff

(2) Rapports des eglise et de l'etat sous la troisieme republique,
A. Debidour, Vol. 1 pp. 360

(3) Ibid pp. 361

10 Beginning of the Anti-Jewish Campaign-Fall of Grevy
opens the Way for Boulanger-

press to go to the greatest extremes in its attack on all things not Catholic so that it became one of the most virulent and bigoted papers ever published. In order that it might better reach all of the people, a local Croix was established in every province. In this way it came to wield great influence which was ever used to arouse bitter hatred of the Republic, evidences of which will be found as we proceed.

A movement that was to have great importance a little later namely, the agitation against the Jews, now had its beginning. This attitude of mind found its greatest impulse in two books written by Eduard Drumont. (1) in which the charge was made that all the evils which France was facing were of Jewish origin. The pretended enslavement of France to the Jew was connected up with Paul Bert and Gambetta, who were both described as being of Jewish parentage. While the higher clergy did nothing to promote the propaganda, they likewise did nothing to stop it. The lower clergy, on the other hand, fell right in with the attempt and carried the denunciation of the Jews to every part of France. Thus was the country prepared for the Dreyfus case.

The Boulanger episode was the next great event to arouse France to the recurring dangers of clericalism. Boulanger was a general in the French army and had served as secretary of war. He was a very popular man with an appealing personality and had manifested the tendencies of a radical liberal so that no one ever suspected that he would lend himself to be the tool of the Church. An unfortunate connection of President Grevy with his son-in-law in a public scandal, had necessitated his resignation from the presidency and consequently a new election. Jules Ferry was the man most considered for the position but he was unsatisfactory to the radicals as well as the clericals and, in searching around for another possible man, sentiment began to surge in the direction of Boulanger, so much so that it soon looked as though he would be the candidate. Clemenceau had formerly been a firm supporter of the general but having come to understand the ambitions and character of the man, turned from him, and brought about the election of Sadi Carnot. The new ministry was radical and made every effort to secure radical legislation even the separation of Church and State. This action on the part of the government was sufficient to throw the whole weight of clerical intrigue into the hands of Boulanger. A wealthy woman, both an Ultramontane and a Royalist, gave him a large sum of money to be used in promoting

(1) La France Juif, E. Drumont

his political designs. He was elected to the Assembly from many different departments, in many cases by great majorities. His political success soon opened the eyes of the government to the menace that was arising. It also served to stir the whole reactionary element with the new opportunity that was before it of realizing its ambitions. The clerical "Croix" asked him to assure the electors that he would not be anti-clerical if elected and he replied, " I will do nothing whatever in the way of religious persecution when the opportunity comes for, if I should, I would act against my conscience and my interests." (1)

Pope Leo kept from falling into the trap as Boulanger's popularity grew but played the game in such a way as to be in a favorable position whatever might happen to the French government. Failure to use his accustomed tact in regard to a congress that he called to take up and consider the matter of the slave trade, led the Republicans to assume a very hostile attitude toward him. This in turn caused him to adopt an attitude more favorable to Boulanger. As a result of the change in attitude of the Pope, the clergy with practically no exceptions, lent their support to the general's program. The situation among the Republicans was acute. They were very much divided among themselves. Finally charges of corruption that affected some of their officials, made their position still more untenable. In January of 1889, Boulanger was elected to the Assmmbly from one of the precincts of Paris and the fact that his majority was so large and this in a republican stronghold, made quite probable the danger of a coup d'etat and the overthrow of the government. The desire of the reactionaries was that Boulanger should overthrow the government and prepare the way for the return of the monarchy with its ancient union of throne and altar. Had Boulanger been a sufficiently brave man to have made the attempt and to have acted with firmness and promptness, it is probable that he would have succeeded and the Third Republic have been destroyed. The developments of that time made apparent the alliance of Boulanger and the Clericals. The general procrastinated in the execution of the coup d'etat; the government stiffened up in meeting the situation; some of the other

(1) Histoire des rapports des eglises et de l'etat sous la troisieme republique, A. Debidour Vol. 1. pp. 397

generals who were accomplices with Boulanger, were arrested; Boulanger, fearing for his own safety, fled to Belgium; the fiasco was over; and the greatest danger that the Third Republic ever has had to face, was over.

In spite of the disgraceful connection that the Church had with this affair, its representatives showed no sign of any change of policy. While the Republicans, even the most radical, were showing a lenient attitude toward the Church, the clergy were arduously continuing their campaign of vituperation, both toward the Republic and its officers. In a new program of counter-revolution, made public at this time, the clergy declared themselves for everything that the Republic had overthrown in its secularization program. They even called for the supreme arbitrage of the Pope among the nations of the world and demanded a change in the character of the legislative body, by which the immediate representation of the people would have been replaced by the representation of groups, a reversion to pre-revolutionary times. (1) Not even satisfied with this, they set themselves to gain control of the government at the approaching election. Their representative met Boulanger in London and there plotted the campaign. The Count of Paris once more came to the front and helped along by catholic money and clerical supporters, hoped to secure the crown. The clerical papers, including the various editions of the Croix, pushed their campaign of untruth against the Republic. The lower clergy fought for the sacred cause, urged on by the pastoral letters of their bishops. Even the Pope gave indirect support and issued an encyclical at the most opportune time, in which, under the pretext of glorifying Saint Joseph, the protector of the Universal Church, he attempted to arouse the proletariat to a deeper solicitude for the Church. In spite of all these efforts toward reaction, the people of the country, thanks to the influence of the press, education and other enlightening influences, were not seduced and the Republic, once more, acquired a two-thirds majority in the National Assembly, Boulangerism was given its death blow, Monarchism made more improbable than ever, and the Republic was established on the firmest basis that it had ever had.

(1) L'Eglise Catholique et l'Etat, sous la Troisieme Republique, A. Debidour, Vol. 1, pp. 411

After all that the Ultramontanes had done against the Republic, one would have expected to see the Liberals take retaliatory measures against the Church. The opposite happened and the reasons are not hard to find. Recognizing the lack of stability of the Republic, all groups among the Republicans were alike opportunist. With Boulanger as an illustration of the danger that the opposition of the clergy brought upon the country, the liberals hesitated about taking measures that would drive the clericals to extremes. At the same time, the conservatives were moved by a fear of the dangers arising out of the radicalism of the Socialists and felt the need of clerical help to counteract this menace. The large number of Clericals who were officials in the government also promoted the lenient policy. The Clericals, thus engaged, came to their positions as a result of the fact that, when the Republic succeeded the Empire, the new officials were inexperienced in governing and retained a great many of the old officials to help them. Far beyond these reasons for moderateness, was the influence of the Church over education. Especially due to the work of the school of Saint-Cyr and that of L'Ecole Polytechnique, both of which were dominated by the Jesuits, the high command of the army and most of the officers of every rank, were brought under the sway of the Church. So far had this influence gone that an officer who was a Freethinker or a Republican, found himself kept in the low commands with no hope of advancement. The courts, like the army were brought under the domination of the Church on account of the stamp put upon its officers by the Church schools. (1) We, in America, pride ourselves upon our public schools, but it is doubtful if the average individual realizes to what extent the character of citizenship, with all of its ideals and prejudices, is formed by the nature of its system of education. With the French educational system dominated by the Church, from the primary schools to colleges and other higher institutions of learning, both in the matter of a curriculum and the personnel of teaching, and with the influence of that system turned definitely against the Republic, it is not anything surprising that sometimes the republican officials failed to stand by their principles and acted, as opportunists in order to escape the full weight of their opponent's antagonism.

While the officials were thus trying to placate the Church,

(1) L'Eglise Catholique et L'Etat sous la Troisieme Republique,
A. Debidour, Vol. 2, pp. 8

10 The Party of Deputy Piou in the Assembly-The Clerical
Leaning to the Bourgeoise

there arose a party among the Clericals led by the deputy Piou, which advocated a plan of coming out definitely for the Republic provided only that the government would show itself sufficiently agreeable to clerical demands. The idea was to secure the good-will of the government until such a time as they could gain control of it and restore the Monarchy. The greater part of those who followed this leadership, came from a group of people who were aggrieved because the Church had been unable to win the support of the workers and peasants of the country and they thought to attain this end by adopting certain catch phrases taken from the program of Socialism that looked to the bettering of the working classes. The Assumptionist Fathers with their editions of the Croix, the order of Dominicans, and more tardily the Jesuits fell in with this plan for the winning of popular votes. Along with this campaign, there went the war on the Jews. These were both rich and not Christian, which opened up two ways in which they might be attacked. To despoil the Jews or to exterminate them was held up as one of the ways of helping to solve the social problem of France.

Many of the higher clergy were unwilling to align themselves with the working man even on this basis, because they were too closely connected with the Bourgeoise class. The Bourgeoise were for the most part, clerical in politics and had been allied with the Church in the reactionary program for the restoration of the monarchy. Moreover the higher clergy were opposed to doing anything that would injure these people, for financial reasons. While at this time, the higher clergy were being drawn principally from among the lower classes, yet after their elevation to the high offices of the Church, they found everything drawing them to the Bourgeoise. They needed funds to carry on their work and the support of the State was meagre so they turned to these people to make up the deficiency.

We thus see that there was a division in the ranks of the French clergy, much to the embarrassment of the Pope. The Holy Father had never been a real friend of the Republic. He had merely courted it for policies' sake, feeling that he could assure the well being of the Church by flattery rather than by hostility. His whole attitude

The Pope's Declaration for the Working Man

had been illogical. While he had condemned everything that Pope Pius the Ninth had condemned, yet he had turned around and supported the very things that had been condemned. He now saw need of drawing the working class to him by some practical move in their behalf and accordingly, he declared himself for a program of social betterment which, while condemning Socialism, yet advocated better working conditions for the laborers, shorter hours, etc. (1) This however, was not without its disadvantages. For, like the higher clergy, he too had need of financial assistance, and it was through the Bourgeoise element and not the workers that this was to be secured. In order to meet the situation, he sent an encyclical into France, in which, he tried to please both sides. He again asserted that the form of government did not matter so long as it upheld religion and morals. He as much as said that the Republic needed the Church more than the Church needed the Republic and if the government desired their support, it should pay the price and repeal the hated laws. (2) The government was incensed at the encyclical and arrested the Duke of Orleans who had come to France, ostensibly to offer his services to the army and the government, but, in reality, to make use of any adverse conditions, to bring about the fall of the Republic.

The general conditions prevailing in Europe at this time, led the Pope to believe that the time had come for him to arrange some kind of a rapprochement with the Republic. Not desiring to make such a statement personally, until he was sure that he would meet no rebuff, he induced one of the French cardinals to make the statement for him. At a banquet held in honor of some naval officers, the occasion was found and the idea was expressed that the time had come when everybody should rally to the support of the government, that the stability of the Republic was assured, and that the French Church should take this attitude for conscience's sake, inasmuch as that was the advice of the Pope. (3) The speech was most bitterly condemned by the Royalists and almost as bitterly by the clergy. The railings of these two classes incensed the Republicans and the Pope saw that if things went much further it meant dire consequences for the Church. So he wrote to the French cardinal telling him that he was about to issue an encyclical calling upon the French people to support the Republic. When this was

(1) L'Eglise Catholique et l'Etat sous la Troisieme Republique

A. Debidour Vol. 2 pp. 37

(2) Encyclical Letters of Leo the Thirteenth pp 180 ff

Christianas Encyclical Sapientia

(3) Toast du Cardinal Lavigerie, in Appendice de

"L'Eglise Catholique et L'Etat sous la Troisieme Republique"

A. Debidour Vol. 2 pp. 499

10 The Pope's Friendliness for the Republic

noised about, the irreconcilable Clericals saw that something must be done to stop the move or their plans would be overthrown. Therefore representatives of the clergy and of the Count of Paris visited the Pope at Rome and made the bitterest protest against the issuance of the encyclical. The Pope, finding himself in a tight place, postponed this encyclical and issued another, *Rerum Novarum*, (1) to try and take the people's minds away from the incident.

This new papal document dealt with the working man, exalted the Church in such a way as to make it the true guide in the solution of all social questions, condemned Socialism in its attempt to do away with private property, pointed out the right relations that should exist between the capitalists and the laboring man, and advocated action by the State to secure better working conditions. The reception given this document was varied. The government was displeased with the attack made on Socialism while the democratic element of the Clericals received it with great joy and proclaimed the Pope, the champion of the working man.

Conditions soon arose which convinced the Pope of the necessity of issuing the encyclical as first planned. The Clericals in their enthusiasm over the encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, arranged for pilgrimages to Rome, of supposedly working men. The purpose of these pilgrimages was to express the appreciation of the laborers for Pope Leo's interest in their cause. During one of these trips to Rome, one of the party, in visiting the tomb of King Victor Immanuel the First, wrote on the register, "Vive le papa." This so incensed the Roman people that the Pope found it necessary to stop the pilgrimages but not before the incident had served to greatly embitter the relations of France and Italy. The French government had acted very leniently in the matter and had allowed the bishops to continue their pilgrimages although they were being carried out without government permission as the law required. When the Italian government became incensed over the affair, the French authorities, instead of ordering the pilgrimages stopped as a free government should have done, merely made an appeal to the bishops to use caution and not to do anything that would endanger relations with Italy. The answer that some of the bishops made to the government was nothing less than an insult, in that they said they would

(1) Encyclique "Rerum Novarum" in Appendice, L'Eglise Catholique et L'Etat en France sous la Troisieme Republique, A. Debidour Vol. 2 pp. 500ff

(2) Encyclique de Milliet. In Appendice de L'Eglise Catholique et L'Etat, A. Debidour, Vol. 2 pp. 521ff

do as they pleased regarding the pilgrimages and they would not refrain from them just because the government requested it.(1) This trouble stirred the Republicans to action and they began to talk about the separation of Church and State. It was in the face of this situation, that Pope Leo the Thirteenth issued the famous encyclical in which he took the stand that any government was legitimate that proved itself the strongest. According to his hypothesis, the civil power, as such, is always of God. He recognized the existence of evil laws but they are the result of the men who have exercised the government rather than the government itself. He urged the people to rally to the support of the Republic and to elect such men as would best serve the interests of the Church.(2)

Some of the papal followers applauded the words of the Pope while others opposed it most bitterly saying that, while the Holy Father should be obeyed in matters of faith, yet, when it came to politics, that was out of his field and obedience was not necessary. The new elections brought in another majority for the Republic and the Pope used that as an argument to show that his attitude regarding the papal decree was correct. The most of the papal followers were more papal than the Pope and continued their attack on the Republic, even increasing their opposition on account of the connection of certain officials with the Panama Scandals. The friendliness of Pope Leo for the Republic brought on him condemnation from some unexpected quarters, in that he was bitterly denounced by such rabid papers as the Croix and the Libre Parole. After the storm had subsided and it became apparent that the People were not going to hold the government responsible for the Panama scandals, the Pope felt free again to intervene and attempt to rally the French Catholics to the Republic.

The election of 1893, was another great victory for the Republicans. Very few of the Clericals received seats in the Assembly and, while there were enough Socialists elected to make them a factor to be reckoned with, yet the great majority belonged to the moderate Republicans. These sought for religious peace and while they were not willing to repeal any of the liberalizing measures, yet declared for moderateness in enforcement. The government did another foolish thing when it made an appeal to the Pope to induce the

(1) See letter of Gouthe-Soulard, Archbishop of Aix, L'Eglise Catholique et l'Etat sous la Troisieme Rep., A. Debidour Vol. 2 pp. 62

(2) Encyclique Du Ralliement, In Appendice de L'Eglise Catholique et L'Etat, A. Debidour, Vol. 2 pp. 524ff

10 Danger from Socialism-Purpose of Clerical Support of the
Republic-Conclusion

the French bishops to obey a certain French law, only to be chagrined by the Pope's open defense of the attitude of the bishops.

The reason why the government was not assuming such a moderate attitude toward the Church was the dangers that it faced from the socialistic element and the growth of anarchism. The clergy did as was their usual custom, took advantage of this leniency to carry on their attack still further.

The idea behind those who taught clerical support of the Republic was that they might thus secure control of the government and then re-establish the Monarchy. This is shown by the words of one of the leaders, Baron de Montagnac, "I wish that the Catholics would enter as a mob into the workings of the Republic---Traditions should give way, for the time being, before the good of the Church. --- You understand my thought, it is necessary to abandon tradition for the moment, for a very little while-----the adhesion, necessary for Catholics to make to the Republic, is only temporary. That which excludes all Catholics from everything is the fact that they are Monarchists. When the Catholics will have entered the Republic, they will then fill all the places and all the public offices, and then will be masters and able to overthrow the Republic which they can then replace by a Monarchy, if they so desire."(1)

The Republic was battling for its life but it was a sign of great progress that there was enough spirit of revolt from Rome to make a fight. In the struggle, the Republicans were still greatly handicapped. While they had made some progress in recovering state control over education, yet the Church was still the dominating influence along this line, especially on account of its control over the education of the leaders of the army and the judiciary of the nation. Another hindering factor was the division in the Republican ranks. The more radical Republicans were decidedly Socialistic and were feared almost as much by the conservatives of the party as were the Clericals. In spite of these handicaps, some progress

(1) Histoire de rapports des eglises et de l'etat sous la
troisieme republique, A. Debidour, Vol. 2 pp. 114

Conclusion

was made, steps were taken toward laicized and obligatory education, a little was accomplished in suppressing unauthorized congregations, and in other ways, the hold of the Republic on the country was strengthened.

The Clericals were also divided, in policy although not in spirit. All agreed in wishing for the domination of France by the Church but some thought that it could more easily be accomplished by rallying to the support of the Republic until such a time that they could enter into its offices and use it for their own ends. Others still believed in the sacred union of the altar and throne and demanded the overthrow of the Republic and the establishment of the Monarchy. One of the most important factors in the struggle of this period, was the attitude of Pope Leo the Thirteenth. The position that he assumed was one of friendliness toward the Republic. It was not the outgrowth of any democracy of spirit but a sign of ecclesiastical statesmanship. He saw that continued opposition of the Church to the Republic would ultimately bring about the destruction of the French Church while support of that institution might be turned to its advantage. He met with a great deal of opposition in his position but conditions ultimately led him to issue an encyclical calling upon the French Catholics to rally to the support of the Republic. Even this did little to lessen clerical hostility. The Boulanger episode showed what a menace Clericalism was to France as well as the Republic but even that failed to change the government's policy of moderateness toward the Church. The great majority of Republicans were still hoping that Roman Catholicism might be retained as the state religion of France and that resort might not be necessary to the complete separation of Church and State. More lessons had to come showing the impossibility of changing clericalism and of removing its menace, without rooting it out from official relations with the nation. Only then would the way be paved for a complete rupture of relations with Rome.

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Chapter II

Events Leading to the Capture of Diplomatic Relations
Between France and Rome

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Chapter 11

Events Leading to the Rupture of Diplomatic Relations Between France and Rome

Jesuit Domination of Education-Dreyfus Case-Clericalism and the Dreyfus Case-Clerical Interference in Government Affairs-Attempt to Restore the Monarchy-Ministry of Waldeck-Rousseau-Attitude of the New Council-The Associations Law and its Meaning-The Government Enforces the Law-Papal Protests against the Law-Demands for more Stringent Measures-Ministry of Combes-More Stringent Enforcement of the Law-Development of Separation Sentiment-Trouble in Brittany-Matters that Irritated Relations between France and Rome-More Stringent and Clerical Violence-Pius the Tenth, Cardinal Merry Del Val and Their Policies-Situation So Acute as to Only Need a New Irritation to Bring about a Rupture-Visit of President Loubet to Rome-Reasons for the Visit-Papal Opposition. The Visit-Papal Protest-Partial Rupture of Diplomatic Relations-Case of the Bishops of Laval and Dijon-Complete Rupture of Relations-Conclusion

The three years that followed the assassination of President Carnot in 1894, saw the culmination of the spirit of moderateness toward the Clericals, on the part of the government. Everything came to be so dominated by the Clericals that there was only one thing which prevented them from assuming open control. This was the division in their ranks. Jesuit teaching moulded more and more the thought life of the public officials. All of the leading places in court life, politics, the leading professions, commerce, great industries, special schools of the State, army, navy, civil, and financial administration were filled by men whose Jesuit teaching made them little less than tools of these opponents of modern society. When their pupils grew to manhood, the papal teachers followed them out into the world, watched over them, and exercised a powerful influence over their lives by means of the confessional. The priests used their knowledge of family secrets to enforce their desires.(1) In the military and naval worlds, the Jesuits reigned almost supreme. A person who was not a Catholic, had practically no chance of rising in either branch of service. It was in the ministry of War and the Ministry of Marines that the Jesuit Fathers ruled supremely, without coming out into the open. The office of the Staff Headquarters was especially contaminated by them. The intolerance of the officers in this important place in the army, was exercised not only against non-Catholic Christians and Republicans, but also against the Jews. This fell right in with the bitter campaign that was being made by the anti-Semites and led to the greatest disgrace that France ever

(1) L'Eglise Catholique et de L'Etat sous la Troisieme Republique,
A. Debidour, Vol. 2 pp. 125

The Dreyfus Case

of the prisoner's innocence and the restoration of his rank in the army.

faced, a disgrace for which the Church should bear the heaviest blame, the famous Dreyfus Case.

Alfred Dreyfus was a French artillery officer who came of Jewish parentage. Through excellence in scholastic ability, he graduated with honors from the military schools of France and was made a Captain in the regular army. On the 15th of October 1894, he was arrested on the charge of having sold military secrets. His trial was conducted with the utmost secrecy, the evidence on which he was convicted being kept from the republic. The reason given for the secrecy was that, to make public the evidence, would endanger the relations of France with a friendly power. Dreyfus was found guilty and sentenced to military degradation and solitary imprisonment on the Ile du Diable, off the coast of French Guiana. Fanned by clerical and anti-Semitic propaganda, great popular antagonism was created toward the unfortunate prisoner. Dreyfus, protesting his innocence, went off to endure untold tortures in his lonely imprisonment. The secrecy of his trial, the continued protestations of his innocence, the discovery of new evidence, and the courageous fight of a few earnest friends and noble defenders of justice, finally resulted in the awakening of public sentiment, abroad and then at home, to the belief that Dreyfus was innocent. After a bitter fight, a new trial was granted and the condemned man was returned to France, after having endured the horrors of his imprisonment for nearly four years. The new trial was conducted at Rennes and was almost as big a fiasco as the first. The aim of practically all of the officials engaged in the trial was to hide the corruption in the French army and the gross miscarriage of justice that had been perpetrated. Dreyfus was again found guilty but with extenuating circumstances, as though there could be any extenuating circumstances for treason. The prisoner was sentenced to ten years imprisonment, from which, was to be taken the years that he had already served. The Court Martial recommended the pardon of Dreyfus and President, Loubet, hoping to settle the whole matter granted his pardon. It took almost ten years more to free public sentiment of the prejudice created by anti-Semitism and aroused by the trial to allow the rehearing of the case in court, the proclamation

(1) *Rapports deseglises et de l'Etat sous la troisieme republique*, A. Vachon, Vol. 2, pp. 166ff
(2) *The Dreyfus Case*, F. Compagnon pp. 315-4

11

Clericalism and the Dreyfus Case

of the prisoner's innocence and the restoration of his rank in the army.

Such is the story of the famous case that aroused the whole of the world to the conditions that permeated the government of France. That which particularly interests us is the connection of the case with Clericalism. We have seen the connections that the Clericals had with the anti-Semitic campaign without which the affair would never have happened. We have also seen how the Jesuit system of education moulded the character of the French officials, especially those of the army and navy. The place where the whole scheme of Dreyfus' condemnation was hatched with its forged evidence and all, was the staff headquarters office. The man in charge of this office at the time was Lemouton de Boisdeffre, a particularly ardent clericalist and one who had as his spiritual adviser, Father du Lac, on whom he depended for a great deal of advice. Thus in addition to its activities in developing the state of mind necessary to such a spirit of persecution, the Clericals had a close connection with the inauguration of the plot. When the trial was over, instead of working to secure justice, every institution of the Church including press and pulpit, did all in its power to stir up popular prejudice against the unfortunate Jew and to make his escape impossible. When the case was in its infancy and it looked as though there was not enough evidence to hold Dreyfus, the Catholic and anti-semitic papers threatened the Minister of War, with having to face the charge of an accomplice in the crime, if Dreyfus should be set free. It was under these circumstances, according to Debidour, (1) that preparation of the secret dossier was begun. During the days of Dreyfus' imprisonment on the Ile du Diable, his heart broken wife made an urgent appeal to the Pope to do something to see that justice, was done but Leo the Thirteenth made no move. Conybeare in his book, entitled "The Dreyfus Case", thus speaks of the relation of the affair to Clericalism. (2) "A series of outrages against the public conscience, a crucifixion before all Europe of truth and justice, which in England, would have found an accuser in not a few churches and in every non-conformist chapel, had, in the great and dignified Gallican Church, provoked not a single protest."

(1) Rapports des eglises et de l'etat sous la troisieme republique, A. Debidour, Vol. 2, pp. 125ff

(2) The Dreyfus Case, F. Conybeare pp. 313-4

Clericalism and the Dreyfus Case

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L'Abbe Henry de Saint Poli, a Catholic, in his book entitled, "L'Affaire Dreyfus et la mentalite Catholique en France, " says on this subject, " Of all the causes, which are able to explain the errors of the Catholics in the Dreyfus case, none contributed more than the so-called nationalist press in the success of the vast conspiracy of falsehood against truth." (1) This campaign of untruth is illustrated by such facts as this, that while the process of Rennes was being decided upon, these papers declared that if the revision should take place, war was certain. If any man attempted to uphold justice and truth, he was branded as a traitor. The sufferings of Zola are an illustration of what such patriots had to endure. On account of the animosity that the trial created, violent attacks were made on the Jews and their places of business. In justification of such actions, the Croix asserted that it was Christ who had ordered the attacks and that he had protected the places of business belonging to Catholics. The official journal of the Church in Rome made a statement during this affair, in which, it said, "The emancipation of the Jews is the corollary of the so-called principles of 1789----- The Jew has been created by God to serve wherever treason prepares it-self-----The Jews allege a legal error, the true error is that of the Constituent Assembly which accorded to them French nationality. It is necessary to abrogate this law. The equality of men with them, the community of rights is nothing less than a farce when the social conditions are incongruous.----- And this is not only true in France but in Germany, in Italy, and in Austria, the Jews should be debarred from the nation. Then in the beautiful harmony of the past, finally re-established, the people will find their lost happiness." (2)

Alongside of this campaign of untruth, one must also put the spirit of credulity that the Church had developed in its adherents. Without this credulity, such statements as were propagated as truth would not have been accepted without proof and such a trial with its secret evidence would never have been possible. Two more quotations will close what we have to say of this subject. The first is from the pen of L'Abbe de Saint Poli and follows: " A crime, mil-

(1) L'Affaire Dreyfus et la Mentalite Catholique en France, H. Saint Poli, pp. 102-3

(2) Rapports des eglises et de l'etat en France sous la troisieme

(1) L'Affaire Dreyfus et la Mentalite Catholique en France, H. Saint Poli, pp. 102

(2) Rapports des eglises et de l'etat en France sous la troisieme republique, A. Debidour, Vol. 2 pp. 190

tary and judicial has been perpetrated at Rennes against humanity and against right. It seems as though the Church should not stand all of the responsibility and the hatreds. This is the trouble however, that the Church was an accomplice in the odious crime. We have seen the Catholic party take open part in the Chamber against the defenders of justice. We have seen our journals always remain as an impenetrable wall against the light and the vindication of truth. One recognizes that the Catholic party has found in the Dreyfus affairs, under the cover of a brawling patriotism, nothing else than an occasion of insolent triumph, an evil revenge for ancient defeats." (1) Waldeck-Rousseau, premier during part of the time said that, at the time of the fight for revision. "The religious orders were mobilized as a veritable army. The Jesuits and the disturbing Father du Lac in particular, no longer took pains to hide their acts. The Assumptionists attracted public attention with their arrogant pretensions, their hatreds, and their threats. This powerful congregation, rich and brutal, which had so long claimed the honor of directing the crusade against the Republic, played at this time, a role so important that this quotation which makes it manifest will not appear futile to the reader in spite of its length." (2) These words follow a long quotation from Anatole France concerning the working of the whole papal system during the Dreyfus affair. These machinations were no longer to go unheeded, for the people of France had come to realize as never before, the dangers that the country was facing from such indifference to truth and justice in political affairs. From this time on, we can trace the direct attempts to bring about the separation of Church and State.

In their work to get rid of Dreyfus and banish the Jews, the followers of the papacy, lost none of their ability to interfere in political affairs. Waldeck-Rousseau says that, at the time of their inelections, they had their agencies everywhere with a centre in every commune. In the election of 1898, some of the more radical papists sent out millions of pamphlets so drastic that they lost for them, the good-will of the easy-going cabinet then in power and of which the

(1) L'Affaires Dreyfus et la Mentalite Catholique en France,
H. Saint Poli pp. 136-7

(2) Rapports des eglises et de l'etat en France sous la troisieme
republique, A. Debidour Vol. 2, pp. 180

11 Attempt to Restore the Monarchy Ministry of Waldeck-Rousseau

papal envoy had said, " The politics of the cabinet, if it triumphs, will be of infinitely more advantage to the Church than the return of the old regime. " These pamphleteers demanded of the candidates that they declare, in writing, that they were not French Masons, that they would agree to fight the Jews, that they would work for the abolition of the laws distasteful to the Church. Some of these agitators, not content with seeking the political downfall of political opponents, Stirred both the government and the people to persecution and murder. Such is seen in the words of Father Didon," When persuasion has failed, and love has been impotent, it is necessary to arm with coercive force, to brandish the sword, to terrorize, to rage, to smite, it is necessary to impose justice. The use of force in such a case, is not only right and legitimate, it is necessary.---The supreme art of government is to know the exact hour when tolerance becomes complicity. Disaster to those, who hide their criminal feebleness behind an insufficient legality, to those who let the sword get dull, to those whose goodness turns to meekness!-----France conserves and cares for its army, it has honor for it, and its anger will be terrible, its reprisals bloody against the sacriligious persons who dare to attack it." (1)

Once again a plan was made for the restoration of the Monarchy. This time, the negotiations were carried on with the Duke of Orleans at Brussels. The plan was to carry out the revolution, at the time of the opening of the Assembly in Paris. An assault was to be made on the Palais-Bourbon, the seat of the government. The army was counted upon to fall into line and help consummate it, under the leadership of the Minister of War. The plan was a miserable failure and the hope of the Monarchists again broken.

The violence of the Clericals now brought about a more radical ministry under the leadership of Waldeck-Rousseau. Rousseau was thoroughly in sympathy with the Catholics on the subject of religion but saw the dangers that confronted the State at the hands of the reactionary elements and sought to find a remedy. He was opposed to a rupture of the Concordat with Rome and felt that the thing most needed was to force the clergy to a faithful observance of it. His attitude is found in a couple of quotations taken from his public addresses. He says, " As long as the principles of government have not com-

(1) Discourse of Father Didon, Quoted in L'Eglise Catholique et L'Etat, A. Debidour Vol 2 pp 202

11 Ministry of Waldeck-Rousseau-The Association Law and Its Meaning

pletely changed, we are not able to confound the clergy of the concordat, having hierarchical chiefs and, between which and the State, there exists defined and acknowledged relations, with certain associations and certain soldiery that, each day, enlarges itself, each day becomes more menacing (Here the speaker was interrupted) and certain associations, I said, which by a singular paradox, intend to secure from the Republic, privileges that they never obtained from monarchies. "(1) Again he says, "It will suffice, I think, to express precisely the thought of the government around which it asks Republicans to group themselves and to unite, to say that the immediate object that we pursue, is the establishment of a civil society strong enough to show itself the respecter of all rights of conscience, and also to impose respect for its institutions." (2) The government had allowed certain evils to grow up and it was the purpose of the new president of the council of remedy those evils. The first of these was the increase of the unauthorized congregations: the second the increase of their mainmorte: and third, the Church control of education with its consequent domination of the army, navy, professions, business, etc.

The first great accomplishment of this ministry was the Association Law of July 2, 1901, according to which no religious association was to be permitted to form itself with proper authorization by law. The purpose of the government was first expressed by the president of the council in an address at Toulouse. After having declared that the purpose of the proposed law was nothing else than to bring the association to submit to common right, he said: "The point in question, in the next place, is to meet by the same law, the peril that arises from the continued development in a democratic society, of an organization which, following a celebrated definition which occurred to our ancient parliaments, 'tends to introduce in the state, under the plausible pretext of a religious institution, a political body whose end, at first, is to secure absolute independence and, secondly, the usurpation of all authority: '-----I speak as a man who is not animated by any sectarian spirit, but simply by the spirit which has dominated not only the policies of the Revolution but all the historic policies of France. "(3)

(1) La Defense Republicaine, Waldeck-Rousseau, pp. 45

(2) Ibid

pp.49

(3) Ibid

pp.156

11 The Government Enforces the Law-Demands for More Stringent Measures-Papal Protests against the Law

The government first showed the determination with which it was facing the situation by dissolving, as illicit, the Congregation of Assumptionists which had interfered in the election of 1898. The next day after the dissolution, M. Richard, the Cardinal of Paris went to visit the Assumptionist Fathers, for which the government condemned him and asked for explanations. At the same time, it suppressed the support of the Archbishop of Aix and the Bishops of Montpellier and Versailles, because they had written letters of congratulation and encouragement to these same members of the condemned congregation. On the 31st of January, 1901, the first article of the new law was passed and on the 2nd of July, the whole law. This law decreed that the religious congregations must conform to the new law and receive authorization or be dissolved. A delay of three months was accorded for compliance with the law.(1)

The Pope protested against the new law as being, " a law of reprisals and discriminatory, excluding honest and worthy citizens from the benefits of common right, which hurts equally, the rights of the Church, is in opposition to natural right, and at the same time, full of deplorable circumstances." (2) The Clericals of France opposed the law with even greater vehemence but the government stood firmly by its declared purpose. Many thought that the law would never be enforced but when the time allotted for compliance had passed the necessary orders were issued to force obedience. The two organizations that were especially obnoxious to the government and on whom the blow fell the hardest, were the Jesuits and the Assumptionists. The Jesuits were unwilling to run the risk of being refused authorization should they make application, so they never asked for it and were dissolved. But what they had done at other times, they did again now. They went out of one door and came back another, under a different name.

In the face of violent measures that were taken against the laws, the more radical Republicans clamored for still more radical legislation. In the election of 1902, the Catholic party was again divided as to policy. The Pope, seeing the trend of popular thought, again counselled moderation, thinking that the interests of the Church

(1) Rapports des eglises et de l'etat sous la troisieme republique, A. Debidour, Vol. 2. pp. 540ff For a copy of the law

(2) Ibid

pp. 315

11 Ministry of Combes-More Stringent Enforcement of the Law-
Development of Separation Sentiment-Trouble in Brittany

would be the best served in that way. Most of the episcopate followed the lead of the Archbishop of Paris and continued as refractory as ever, not only refusing to follow the advice of the Pope but sending a delegation to Rome to urge the Holy Father to change his attitude and champion their ideas. The usual violence characterized the days of the election, but that failed to prevent the defenders of the Republic from being returned to power with an increased majority. Waldeck-Rousseau foresaw a demand for more rigid enforcement of the law than he was willing to countenance, so he handed in his resignation and Emile Combes became the premier.

In his opening address, Combes made it plain that he was **intent** on a rigid enforcement of the law and the preservation of the Republic from the dangers that threatened it. There were two things that demanded his attention as he entered upon the duties of his new office. The first was the enforcement of the Associations Law against the unauthorized congregations which had been formed previous to 1801, to whom Waldeck-Rousseau had promised immunity. The second problem was to deal with those that had been organized outside the law since that time, against whom the former premier had threatened to enforce the law but had failed to keep his word. He began with the latter class first, which consisted for the most part of schools for girls. These he ordered closed without delay. His firm stand received the enthusiastic applause of the Republicans, whereupon he ordered over three thousand of those belonging to the first class to close within a period of eight days. A great cry went up from the Clericals of persecution. The Pope again made protest, especially on the ground of the promise of immunity made by the former premier. Nothing less than the full obedience of the law was able to satisfy this man and he proceeded to close the ones still remaining defiant.

The violent condemnation of the government by both the pulpit and the press, served to arouse the people of Brittany, who were naturally especially devoted to the Church. The Clergy did not hesitate to preach civil war and armed resistance, which the people of the province proceeded to put into operation. The government ordered troops to go there and quell the riots, only to find that some of the soldiers refused to obey, on the ground that they were unable to dis-

obey their consciences. To make matters worse, when these disobedient soldiers were tried before the clerically controlled Secretary of War, they were let off with the lightest kind of sentences. Thus was emphasized the necessity of either reforming or abolishing this military establishment. But, in spite of all opposition, Combes continued with his program and by September of that same year, all of the illegal institutions were closed. Soon after, a new law was promulgated which imposed a fine and imprisonment on all who should be guilty of breaking the Associations Law.

The premier next turned his attention to the demands that had been made upon the government for authorization. These consisted of two kinds, first those coming from unauthorized establishments but belonging to Associations already authorized and, secondly, those of Associations, already existing but unauthorized. The first group offered a very easy solution and they were dissolved by the official decree of the premier himself. The others called for action on the part of the Assembly and this was not such an easy matter. The government was facing the old difficulty of dissolved congregations, reappearing under the pretension that they had been secularized. To aid in preventing this, a new law was proposed forbidding the members of the dissolved congregations from teaching, either in the same or a neighboring commune. It also provided that no one should be allowed to teach who did not possess a brevet of capacity. The passage of this law was very doubtful until, in the course of the debate, revelation was made of the secret instructions that had been given to the monks by their superiors, concerning false secularization. This so incensed the Republicans that both laws were passed and most of the demands for authorization were refused.

When Combes had taken the premiership, he was firmly convinced that the time for the separation of Church and State had not yet come and he made every attempt to prevent the suppression of the budget of the cults. Inside of a year, his attitude had changed and he was ready to work for the realization of the separation program. What had produced this change of mind? The premier had thoroughly believed that the one thing necessary was the honest fulfillment of the terms of the concordat and that it should not be held obligatory on the part of the State to be broken with impunity by the Church.

More Stringent Measures - Irritating Matters

Let Combes' own words express the idea that was in his mind concerning the actual situation. He says, "But the Catholic Church expects to enjoy the advantages without fulfilling the corresponding obligations. Let no one think that the evasions are rare or accidental. Under the present Republic, the violations surpass all calculations in number. There is not an article in the Concordat, imposing any obligation whatever on the Church, which has not been disregarded at every turn, sometimes by the Pope and sometimes by the French clergy." (1) This increasing violation of the Concordat by the hierarchy developed the idea of the necessity for the separation. This idea took possession of the minds of the French people as well as of the premier until nothing could stop its realization.

Several things came up during the premiership of Combes that increased the irritation between France and Rome. Very shortly after this administration began, forty-four of the French bishops sent a petition to the Assembly on behalf of the threatened congregations and couched in most provoking words. As a punishment, the government suspended the support of the guilty clergy. Still the clergy continued their harangues, even to the threat of civil war. Both the higher and lower clergy, in utter disregard of the law, allowed the members of the dissolved congregations to preach from their pulpits. In all of these things, the Court of Rome took such an approving attitude that it was very displeasing to the French government. To make matters still worse, the problem of the nomination of bishops again came to the front. We have seen how Rome had usurped the right of nomination along with the privilege of institution. Some years previous, while serving as Minister of Cults, Combes had tried to recover the right of nomination for the government in harmony with the terms of the Concordat, but had failed. Some more bishoprics having now become vacant, the government made its nominations but the Pope refused to recognize them. Combes made a protest and threatened that the near consideration of the budget would afford opportunity to renew the attack on the Concordat unless the rights of the State were observed. The Pope considered the protest as a sign of weakness and made an insolent reply, asserting that even if the law said that no bishop nominated by the State could be rejected except on the ground of deficiency of morals or doctrine, he had other things to consider and did not need to give his reasons for refusing

(1) Une deuxième campagne, E. Combes pp. 93

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Irritating Matters-More Stringent Measures

institution. He further argued that the French government had no right to transfer bishops from one bishopric to another as this was a function that pertained alone to the Holy Father. The premier made a speech in the upper chamber in which, he protested against the attitude of the papacy and gave the names of several men who had been nominated to the bishoprics whose nomination had been rejected by the Pope, merely because they were good Frenchmen. He also complained of the interference of the clergy in politics and concluded, " It is time that these vagabondish and anti-concordat incursions on forbidden grounds should cease. The maintenance of the Concordat is to be preserved at this price. He is ignorant who does not see it.(1)

Encouraged by the support that was given to him in the upper Chamber, Combes sent out two circulars calling upon the clergy, to close all of the chapels that had been opened without authorization and to stop the preaching of members of dissolved congregations in the churches. Most of the clergy bitterly denounced the circulars and openly violated them in many places. In some districts serious disturbances took place resulting in some bloodshed. Aroused by all these examples of the utter disregard that the Church had for the law, a bill was introduced into the Chamber providing for the separation of Church and State. While this bill was defeated, the vote was so close that none could help seeing that the Concordat was to be definitely broken soon.

Another event of great importance happened at this time, that, at least, hastened the separation. Leo the Thirteenth, so long as he remained on the pontifical throne, succeeded in staying off the day of reckoning by his moderateness. But this Pope was now dead and a less tactful man had taken his place, Pius the Tenth. The first utterance of the new Pope, betokened a man, wholly absorbed in the spiritual needs of his office. It was doubtless his inexperience regarding the political character of the Holy See that made him such a tool in the hands of others. The man who did more than any one else to shape the policies of his pontificate was a young man whom he made a cardinal and soon after, his secretary of state, Merry del Val. Debidour thus speaks of him, " It was by Merry del Val that the new Pope was guided in his policies. And what policies! The most narrow, the most uncompromising, the most absolute theocracy, in a

(1) Une Deuxieme campagne, E. Combes pp. 5

11 Pius the Tenth and Cardinal Merry del Val and their Policies-Acuteness of the Relations of France and Rome

word, that of the Jesuits who passed for the protectors of the new secretary of state and the artisans of his fortune."(1) The influence of these advisers is seen in the papal decree of Nov.8,1903, in which the Pope says. " We shook some people in saying we must necessarily occupy ourselves in politics, but whosoever would judge justly, should see clearly that the Sovereign Pontiff, invested by God with a supreme magistracy, has no right to wrest political affairs from faith and morals." (2) By this decree as well as in the Index which was issued a little later , the Pope taught the complete domination of all modern civilization by the Holy See, another manifestation of this same influence. With such forces in control, nothing would satisfy Rome but the complete subjection of the civil government to the papacy.

With the foregoing facts in mind, we can see that only an opportunity was wanting to bring about a death struggle between the two powers in France. It was soon manifest that a change for the worse had taken place between France and the Vatican. This still more increased the demand that the country should be freed from the strangle hold that the Church had over education. Opinion was divided as to how this should be brought about, some thinking that the Church ought not lose the privilege of teaching entirely and that it was sufficient if the existing evils were corrected. Others thought that the only permanent solution was to give the State a complete monopoly of that field. As soon as the laicizing of education was talked about, the clergy raised the cry of persecution and increased its agitation against the government. Some of the bishops issued articles very offensive to the government and a number of the clergy, including three cardinals, wrote a letter to the President of the Republic urging that the endeavors of the barbarians should be stopped. This letter was turned over to Council of State for action. The Pope without waiting for the law relating to education, issued a public allocation, in which he condemned the work of the government in these words;" We highly disapprove such severity, essentially contrary to the intrinsic ideas of liberty, to the fundamental laws of the country, to the rights inherent in the

(1) Quoted in Rapports des eglises et de l'etat, A.Debidour Vol.2 pp 376

(2)Ibid

11 Acuteness of the Relations of France and Rome-Visit
of President Loubet to Rome

Catholic Church, and to the rules of civilization itself-----
We are unable to refrain from expressing our grief for the measures taken to defer to the Council of State certain letters addressed to the first magistrate of the Republic by some very deserving pastors, among them four members of the sacred college."(1) This incensed the government still more and a law was passed suppressing all teaching by the congregations and providing for their dissolution. (2) The discussion that had taken place leading up to the passage of this law, had served to make the relations between the Vatican and the French government, all the more intense. Additional trouble over the nomination of bishops, created a situation that only needed some new clash to bring about a break. That occasion came as an outgrowth of the insolence and stupidity of the Pope relative to the visit of the President of France to Rome.

France, because of its isolation in European affairs, felt the need of closer relations to Italy. The first step toward bringing about a better understanding had been made when King Victor Immanuel made a visit in Paris, to extend his courtesies to President Loubet. The King's visit having been made, there was a necessity that the honor should be returned by the President of France paying a visit to the King at Rome. The difficulty came about as the result of a papal rule that had been made in the time of Pope Pius the Ninth, that if the ruler of any Catholic country should come to Rome to visit the King of Italy, who was looked upon as a usurper, he would not be received by the Sovereign Pontiff. Such an attitude was very inconsistent, in that Emperor William of Germany or any other Protestant sovereign might visit the King of Italy and, at the same time, pay his respects to the Pope, but if a Catholic ruler desired to do the same thing, it was prohibited. This really amounted to an invitation to these rulers to abandon the Roman Catholic Church. Pius the Tenth and his advisers were too blind to see what the outcome would be .

Now it should be remembered that there were a great many Republicans who thought it was inadvisable that the Concordat should be broken and that one of these was President Loubet. Such men felt that the Concordat was a bond connecting the government and the Holy See,

(1) Rapports des eglises et de l'etat sous la troisieme republique,

A. Debidour Vol. 2, pp. 388

(2) Appendice of the Ibid pp. 545ff

by which, to a certain degree, the Church could be held in check, but if it were entirely free, there would be no limit to its excesses. Therefore these men were very anxious to avert anything that would necessitate a rupture. Accordingly, when the trip was planned and opposition was foreseen, the government did everything in its power to prevent the Pope from doing anything that would cause trouble. It even sent some French prelates to Rome, to lay the situation before the Holy Father and to use their influence to induce him to be moderate and compromising. These men did visit the Pope and pictured to him the grave consequences that would follow if he should hold himself strictly to the papal rule. They pointed out that the separation would be brought about, the country thrown into disturbance and the Church of France ruined. (1) The Pope merely raised his eyes to heaven and replied, "Deus Providebit-"(God will provide) The government was not to be turned from its project. This insistence was not stubbornness on its part but it felt that the very safety of the country depended on the development of good relations with Italy and it was fully aware that the aloofness of the two nations would be increased if the French government should sanction the papal condemnation of free Italy by heeding the Pope's protest. Accordingly, in due course of time, the visit was made and the people of Italy received the ruler of their sister nation with the greatest acclaim.

No Pope could possibly have met the situation in a way to have caused greater offense than did Pius the Tenth. Even before the visit was concluded, he issued a note to the French government, in which, he declared that the visit was an offense to the Holy See. The offense was considered as being all the greater because President Loubet was the ruler of France, a nation that was united to Rome by ties that were very close and traditional, that had a large representation in the Sacred College, held the protectorate of Catholic interests in the Orient, and especially as it was a country that, in the last few years had received many proofs of the particular good will of the Holy See. (2) The government of France was very much offended by this protest and especially so because it had gone through so much, during the past thirty years, to maintain the power of the Pope,

(1) Rapports des Eglises et de L'Etat, A. Debidour Vol. 2 pp. 397

(2) Note au Cardinal Secretaire D'Etat concernant La Visit du Pres. Loubet, Ibid pp. 547f

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The Papal Protest-Partial Rupture of Diplomatic Relations

expending therein, many lives as well as great sums of money. It also saw the falsity of the Pope's declaration that France had so many representatives in the Sacred College, because it only had seven, while heretical Italy had forty. To make the offense all the greater, when the Sovereign Pontiff despatched the note to France, he sent a copy of it to all the other countries with whom the Vatican had diplomatic relations.

The French government was forced to choose between three methods of procedure in calling the papacy to account. The first method was to have its ambassador at Rome return on furlough, second, to officially recall him, leaving only a charge d'affairs at Rome; and third, to wholly suppress the embassy. The first was too lenient and lacked sufficient meaning, while the last would have meant the complete rupture of the Concordat and necessitated the separation of Church and State. This latter event, the government wished to avoid if possible and did the only remaining thing, recalled its ambassador from Rome. Combes' words to the chamber after the recall were received with great applause and doubtless represented the feeling of the great majority of the French people. He said, "The recall signifies politically that we are not able to admit, under any pretext, that the presence of our ambassador at Rome should be interpreted by the Holy See as, in any sense, favorable to his pretensions and as serving him, in any way, as an apparent justification of claims that we deny absolutely. It indicates likewise, that we cannot tolerate the interference of the pontifical court in our international relations, even at the time, when we have desired to finish with, once for all, the outgrown fiction of a temporal power that has been gone for thirty years." (1)

From the moderate attitude that the French government took under these provocations, one can see that there was still hopes of saving the Concordat, even at this late date, provided only that the Vatican would change its ways. It was unwilling to change however as events were to show.

The consummation of the long series of violations of the Concordat, came over the cases of two French bishops. Mgr. Geay, Bishop of Laval and Mgr. Le Nordez, Bishop of Dijon who were accused of certain abominable offenses. The former was charged with having violated the Abbess of the Carmelite nuns at Laval and of having lived with her

(1) Quoted in Rapports des eglises et de l'etat sous la troisieme republique, A. Debidour Vol. 2, pp. 404

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Case of the Bishops of Laval and Dijon

on the terms of the greatest intimacy. The other was charged with a crime not hitherto recorded in ecclesiastical history as Sabatier says (1) , that of being a French Mason. The Bishop of Laval received orders from the Secretary of the Sacred Office at Rome, ordering him to come to that city and answer to the charges made against him. The bishop showed the letter to the Minister of Cults who forbade his going. Word was immediately sent to Rome, calling the attention to the Pope to the fact that it was contrary to the law of France, that any French ecclesiastic should be called to appear before the Holy See, without the consent of the French government. In deliberate defiance of the French authorities, the papal Secretary of State, gave him a new order, charging him to appear in Rome by a certain date under penalty of being suspended from his ecclesiastical powers. Combes thus speaks of this order, " You will recognize gentlemen, that it was not possible to treat the French government more lightly, to betoken to it more clearly, a complete indifference to its protest." (2) The case of the Bishop of Dijon was much the same, only, on being charged with being a Mason, he was punished by being deprived of certain functions that pertained to his sacred office. The Minister of Cults heard of the matter and made a protest to Rome. Soon after, the Bishop received a letter from the papal authorities, ordering him to appear at the Vatican within a period of fifteen days, to answer to the charges or stand suspended from his powers as a priest and bishop.

The government of France sent an ultimatum to Rome, in which it demanded that the Pope should withdraw both of the letters to the bishops or else diplomatic relations would be broken entirely. There was, even yet, hope of preventing the rupture but the papal advisers in France, told the Pope that the French government was only bluffing and really wouldn't go to such extremes. It is doubtful if things would have been any different without such misleading information. As it was, the reply to the Vatican was such as to show that the pretensions of the papacy had never changed. The response asserted that the Organic Articles did not exist in the understanding of the Holy See, that the Pope had nothing to withdraw, and added that if the French government

(1) Disestablishment in France, P. Sabatier, pp. 96

(2) Une Deuxieme Campagne, E. Combes pp. 324

(1) Quoted in Rapports deseglises et de l'etat sous la troisieme republique, A. Janssens Vol. 2 pp. 411f

11 Case of the Bishops of Laval and Dijon-Complete Rupture of Relations

should continue to go onto measures of unjustifiable hostility the Holy Sovereign could bear no responsibility for it either before God or man.

A few days later, the French charge d'affaires in Rome went to the Vatican and presented a short note in which the his government expressed itself as follows? " The Holy See having enforced acts, accomplished without the consent of the power with which it had signed a Concordat, the government of the Republic has decided to put an end to the official relation which, by the will of the Holy See, now finds itself without object. " (1) At the same time, the Pope was informed that France considered that the mission of the papal legate was ended. The next day all of the personnel of the French embassy left Rome and the papal legate in Paris, received his orders to leave for Italy.

It was now a certainty after all that had taken place, that the relations of Church and State would be severely attacked but still it was not absolutely a sure thing that the separation would be immediately accomplished. The Pope and his Secretary of State remained in perfect tranquility, fully believing that the ministry of Combes was bound to fall and that a reactionary one would take its place. In fact, there were still a great many Republicans who thought that the rupture of the Concordat would be a dangerous thing. Many people failed to realize how separation sentiment had grown in the few years preceding. Even Combes felt doubtful if the time for final action had come. It was an entirely unexpected blow that hurried the movement along.

The Clericals and all of the reactionary elements had, for a long time, been denouncing Free Masonry, the Republican and Free Thought tendencies of which were well known. Charges had oftentimes been made against it of espionage on behalf of the government. According to the hostile journals, all of the officers of both army and navy, were under the surveillance of the Masonic lodges, the purpose of which was to give information to the government regarding the religious affiliations of the various officers. This information was used, according to the charges, to determine whether a man should be disgraced or advanced. The matter had been brought before the Assembly at one time, only to fall through on account of the lack of evidence.

(1) Quoted in Rapports des eglises et de l'etat sous la troisieme republique, A. Debidour Vol. 2 pp. 411f

Complete Rupture of Relations

It was now brought up again and letters were produced showing that the Minister of War had made use of such information and that Combes had not discouraged it. The Clericals and Royalists had done the same thing when they were in power but that was no excuse for the Republic using similar tractics. The clerical press made a great deal of the matter and Combes was nearly forced to resign but he was averse to doing this and sought for a means of holding the office. The extreme Left or Radical Republicans were largely Masonic and to them, the Premier could look for support. They were also very anxious for the separation of Church and State. This led Combes to take up the project and he presented a law, of his own modelling, to bring it about. A number of such laws were introduced in the Assembly and a committee was appointed to make a study of the problem. This committee with Aristide Briand as its chairman, made its report embodying a proposed separation law. Unable to agree with his colleagues on the nature of such a law and somewhat discredited by the Masonic disclosure, Combes resigned and a new government council was formed.

This new ministry was more conservative than the preceding one and it tried to turn public thought away from the idea of separation but France was ripe for the move and the debate went on. A protest against the proposed law made by the Pope and presented to the Chamber, only increased the demand for a rupture of the Concordat. Still another protest against the spoliation of the Church made to the President of the Republic increased the sentiment still more. The defeat of Russia in the Russo-Japanese War and the weakness in which that country was left, made it that France was without a real ally in Europe. This encouraged Germany to assume a hostile attitude toward France in the Morocco affair and led France to see the need of closer relations to Italy and a possible rupture of the Triple Alliance between Germany, Austria, and Italy. The French statesmen knew **that** if the law was defeated, it would greatly please the Vatican and wound Italy. If it should be successfully accomplished, the effect would be exactly reversed. This way of thinking led to an increased effort to compromise the points over which there was contention and

The Separation Law

thus hastened the final passage of the law. The final draft was first passed by the Chamber of Deputies and then, with little delay, was approved by the Senate and became the law of France, Dec. 9, 1905.

The Separation law as finally passed, (1) was not by any means an anti-Catholic measure. In fact, it contained many features very favorable to the Church. Like almost all pieces of legislation of such a magnitude, it was to a considerable extent a compromise and not wholly satisfactory to any group. On the whole, however, it may be considered as a very fair attempt to meet the religious needs of France. The first article is, in some ways, the most important of all. By it, the Republic guaranteed the liberty of conscience and the free practice of all religions was made subject to the provisions of the new law. No particular cult was recognized nor was the State to salary the officials nor subsidize any religion, with certain exceptions such as the paying of the salaries of chaplains for hospitals, schools asylums, etc. This latter fact shows that the law was not anti-religious. Provisions were made for the organization of religious associations that were to be the recognized legal bodies of the churches, the keepers of their properties, and their recognized agent in all things. The law was so worded as to assure the transfer of property to the representatives of the cult that was then using it. One will readily recognize that this was a provision, very favorable to the Catholic Church. The force of the provision was that even though a very small percentage of the population were recognized by the bishop as true Catholics, they could hold the property. Provision was made for the disposal of all property that was not recognized as belonging to the Churches. All the property that had come from the State and had not been devoted strictly for religious purposes since the law 18 Germinal, Year X, which was the law that enacted the Concordat and the Organic Articles, was to revert to the State. All that had been used for strictly religious purposes, was to remain in the hands of the Church, although the State was to retain its ownership. All property that had been devoted to strictly religious purposes and that had not come from the State, was to continue as Church property. All that was being used for charitable or other purposes not strictly religious, should be used by the Church in a similar manner. All property, concerning which, the religious associations did

(1) Loi du Dec 9, 1905 given in Appendice to L'Eglise et Catholique et l'Etat sous la Troisieme Republique, A. Debidour, Vol. 2 pp.577ff also Separation des Eglises et de l'Etat, A.Briand, pp. 353ff

The Separation Law-Conclusion

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not meet the requirements of the law, should revert to the State or Commune to be used for poor relief. Provision was made for the pensioning of all ministers who had been in the service of the Church for a long time. Those who had served for a shorter period, an allowance of part salary was granted for a period covering from four to eight years. THE law required that all places devoted to public worship must be annually registered as such, nor could any political meetings be held in them. Ceremonies and processions as well as the ringing of church bells were regulated. The erection of religious symbols was forbidden, except in places devoted to religious worship, places for the burial of the dead, monuments of the dead, and museums or exhibitions. Children registered in the public schools, could be given religious instructions, only outside of school hours. Any officer who should defame an officer of the law in a place of worship or who should issue any circular or post a placard of defamatory character, should be punished according to the provisions of the law.

Sentiment calling for the separation of Church and State was extremely slow in crystallizing in France. The government was patient, to the point of weakness, in bearing with the interference of the papacy in its internal affairs. This was due to a certain degree, to fear for the stability of the Republic. Added to this is the fact, that a very large part of the people of France were not convinced that this solution would be the best for the country. If the papacy had been willing to live up to the terms of the Concordat, things might have gone along as they were. The final enactment of the Separation Law came about purely as a result of the obstinacy of the papal government.

France had forcibly come to a realization of the danger of Clericalism, through the Boulanger episode. This was made even more apparent, when the Dreyfus case disclosed to the world how completely France was fettered by the clerical control over education, pulpit, and press. With a growing realization of danger, the government became more radical and suppressed the congregations, in its efforts to free the country from the Church schools. The ministries of Waldeck-Rousseau and Combes consistently held to their program of freeing the country from the menace of Clericalism but without resorting to any attempt to bring about the separation of Church and State. The uncom-

Conclusion-Bibliography

promising attitude of Pope Pius the Tenth at the time of President Loubet's visit to Rome and finally the Pope's utter contempt for French law and the officials of the Republic in the trouble concerning the Bishops of Laval and Dijon, finally set the mind of France on the rupture of the Concordat and a definite solution of the problem of papal interference in France. The connection of Combes with the French Masons, merely hastened matters without altering the final outcome. The Republic had learned through experience, the power that it possessed and the persistent flouting of the French authorities by the papacy had made the separation inevitable. If the papacy dislikes the present relations to France, it must assume full responsibility.

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[1] Republican France, E. Vizitelly, pp. 170

[2] Disestablishment in France, P. Sabatier, pp. 109

Chapter 12
Conclusion

Opposition to the Separation Law-Papalism Opposed to Democracy-Pope's Opposition to the Law-The Inventory, Clerical and Papal Opposition-Moderateness of the Government in enforcing the Law-The Conflict to the Time of the World War-Religious Situation in France at the Time of the Beginning of the World War-Results of the War on the Religious Situation-What Will Rome Do in the Future-What Will the People of France Do-A Possible New Catholicism of the Future.

After the passage of the law establishing the separation of Church and State, the Clericals, again, raised their cry of persecution of the Church and blamed the wickedness of the government for all of the trouble. The consideration that we have given the subject, has shown that the separation was brought about by the persistent violation of the Concordat on the part of the Church rather than by any evil propensity of the government. Vizitelly, in his History of the Third Republic, makes the following statement, "Never, in all the History of Christianity, has any regime been attacked so unremittingly by the Church, as the Third Republic has been." (1) Sabatier in his book, "Disestablishment in France" says, "What has ruined the Church of France, is not its dogmas but its politics, or to be more perfectly just and accurate, the disreputable manouvres by which the Church has been monopolised without, unhappily, making an indignant protest before the world." (2)

The opposition of the papacy to the Republic is not strange for the character of papalism is opposed to the very essence of democracy and during all of the time that Pope Leo the Thirteenth was trying to be friendly to the Republic and the Clericals were refusing to follow the Pope's lead, the subordinates were more logical and more true to the inner character of their system, than the Holy Father. In the Syllabus, Pope Pius the Ninth said that the Church could not come to terms with "progress, liberalism, and modern civilization." As one writer said, "In these words, Pope Pius the Ninth was not so much expressing a doctrine as stating a fact. "Until the Roman Catholic Church can be changed, there can be nothing but strife between that organization and a true democracy. The only kind of a democracy that the Church will ever approve, will be one, whose dictator is the Pope. The rights that Pope Pius the Tenth claims for the Church in the Encyclical Vehementer Nos, issued in 1908, are but a re-statement of those found in the famous

(1) Republican France, E. Vizitelly, pp. 198

(2) Disestablishment in France, P. Sabatier, pp. 109

12 Papalism Opposed to Democracy-Pope's Opposition
to the Law-The Inventory, Clerical and Papal Opposition

Unam Sanctum of Pope Boniface the Eighth. The claim there was that, "The temporal must be subject to the spiritual," a claim that no true democracy can accept. The objections that Pius the Tenth raised to the Separation Law were not so much based on specific provisions in that law, but to the principle behind it, namely, of religious toleration, in which the Roman Catholic Church has only the same rights and liberties as any other religious body.

The prophecies that were made by the calamity howlers of the Church, were to the effect, that, if the law should be put into force, the churches would all be closed, the priests would all be driven out and doomed to martyrdom, civil war would follow, and the country would be overrun with blood and fire. This was the view that was advanced by the Pope and Cardinal Merry del Val. With them, it was something more than a forecast of what was to happen, it was rather, the expression of a heartfelt wish. For, as they saw it, if such conditions should result, the people would be moved by the apparent persecution of the clergy and the Concordat would be restored. Such however, was not to be the case, for the people of France were now better educated, were able to read for themselves, and make their own decisions. The result was that they did not find the new law as radical as the priests would have made them believe, and the government was supported in its attempt at enforcement.

The inventory of the property of the Church, as provided for by the law, was intended to safeguard the interests of the Church. In fact, it had been included in the law at the request of the Clericals after it had been left out of the first draft. In spite of this fact, when the government came to put the provision into effect, the clergy stirred up strife and, in Brittany and other places where Catholicism was the strongest, barricades were formed and armed resistance offered. This resistance was only sporadic and failed to assume the proportions that were anticipated. In the midst of these troubles the Pope issued the encyclical Vehementer Nos. (1) a severe denunciation of the Separation Law and a call to support the hierarchy and resist the government as the following words portray, "Therefore, arm for the struggle, march

Catholique

- (1) Rapports des Eglises et de l'Etat sous la Troisieme
Republique, A. Debidour Vol 2 in the Appendice, pp 588ff

12 The Inventory, Clerical and Papal Opposition-Moderation of
the Government in enforcement

without fear to the defense of the Church, but take good care that your confidence be founded entirely on God, whose cause you will sustain and in which, he will help you. Implore him without ceasing."(1) This encyclical gave the religious leaders of France, no advice as to how to proceed in the new situation but served to stir up greater opposition which brought about the fall of the government and that ushering in of a new ministry in which, Clemenceau and Briand had a place. Both of these men, while persistently set on the enforcement of the law, were wise enough to see the pitfalls set in the way, if cause should be given for the cry of persecution. Accordingly, they governed with moderation. In spite of all that the Catholic press, the clergy, and the Pope could do, the elections of May 1906, were a defeat for reaction. France had been asked the question as to what it thought of the new law, and it had given unqualified approval.

Many of the clergy of France were coming to the conclusion that it was best to accept the situation as it was and for the Church to get all that the government, in its moderation, was willing to grant, rather than to run the risk of losing everything. This party, however, found very little encouragement at Rome. A National Assembly of the French clergy was called together to discuss how to meet the situation and decided to adopt the policy of making the best of the situation, to form the associations, and thus meet the requirements of the law. Thereupon, the Pope issued the bull Gravissimo, (2) in which, he refused absolutely to agree to the formation of the associations. The government still maintained its conciliatory attitude and made several concessions in an attempt to smooth out matters. But every concession was misunderstood and looked upon as a sign of weakness instead of goodwill. Rome was blind to the real effect of her attitude. More and more the people of France turned away from religion entirely, abstained from the mass, and demanded civil instead of religious marriages and funerals. By the law of April 13, 1908, (3) the State took possession of three or four hundred million francs worth of ecclesiastical property that might have been retained by the Church, had it been willing to conform to the law and form the associations. The higher clergy of France have become more dependent upon Rome. The same thing may be said of the lower clergy. They seem to have lost the independence that characterized them under Gallicanism and to have become

(1) Appendice L'Eglise Catholique et l'etat sous Republique,
A. Debidour Vol. 1 pp. 598

(2) Ibid

pp. 598ff

(3) Ibid

pp. 603ff

The Conflict to the Time of the World War

faithful bondsmen of the Holy See.

Pius the Tenth Lived on until the great world war broke out, the blow of which, probably hastened his death. Up to the end of his life, he maintained all of his former bitterness over the religious situation in France. At no time in recent years, has the Republic seemed in any danger of being overthrown. It seems definitely to have established itself as the government of France. It reminds us of what Lavaleye has said, "In the matter of social reforms, everything is easy, with the help of the clergy: without that help or in the face of their opposition, everything is difficult, and sometimes, impossible." (1) The fact that the Republic has established itself in the face of such opposition would seem to make its stability all the more sure. The way in which the government weathered the storm of the Great War, goes even further to assure us that democracy has come to stay in France.

Up to the time of the breaking out of War, the Clericals continued to wage their great battle for the establishment of religion after the old ideal. Sabatier wrote in 1912, in his book, "France Today, Its Religious Orientation," as follows, "Never has the activity of the church been so intense or its organization so strong as in France today, but the complaints and cries of alarm which arise on every hand, tell plainly enough, that it is uneasy and realises the gravity of the present crisis." (2) Again he says, "At election times, especially how great an impression is made on the mind of the simple by the defeat of one who has been put forward as the candidate of 'Le Bon Dieu' and the triumph of the 'satanic sect.' When such coincidents recur over forty years with increasing frequency, the most pious countrymen begin to ask the question if Satan be not stronger than the Almighty." (3)

The religious situation had become very deplorable. There

(1) Le Protestantisme et le Catholicisme in Essais et Etudes,

E. Lavaleye Vol. 1 pp. 398

(2) France Today, Its Religious Orientation, P. Sabatier pp. 24

(3) Ibid pp. 25

were comparatively few attending church and a great many of the buildings were decidedly out of repair, dismantled, or even torn down. It has been estimated that not more than five of the thirty-five million people in France really remained good Catholics.(1) No one knows what the other thirty million did profess. They were not all atheists. A few were Protestant, more were Free Thinkers. In spite of all of the efforts of the papacy to suppress modernism, it still permeated the Church, even the priesthood.

What the war has done, is still too early to tell. All of the different factions have been greatly drawn together by the terrible experiences that this distracted country has necessarily endured. The innumerable instance of heroism on the part of Socialists, Protestants, Catholics, and Jews have also been a unifying force. Catholicism has profitted the most of any of the religious sects as a result of these things, inasmuch as the number of Catholic clergy participating surpassed all others in numbers. It had seemed like a satanic act when the government required that the clergy should serve under the colors, just as any other class of citizens. It has worked out in the opposite way. Previous to this time, the Church had lost touch with its people and the Clergy had no hold over their parishes but out there in those dreary trenches, under shot and shell, these priests showed themselves as much heroes as any other of the children of France. There once more, new ties were knit between the Church and the people so that today, it seems as though the Church of Rome has been presented with another chance of trying to restore France to its original devotion to the Church. What will the answer of Rome be? In 1870, the people needed a comforter and in their distress, they flocked back to the Church, only to find there no spiritual succor, merely the moanings over a temporal papacy, lost and gone. The people did not stay. Will the answer be any different today? There seem to be a few signs of some change. The Vatican has finally recognized the right of Italian Catholics to fulfill their duties as citizens of a free country. The voice of the Church seems to be still on the subject of infallibility. THE new Pope Benedict the Fifteenth appears to be a forward-looking individual. France has restored her diplomatic relations with the Vatican. This was brought about largely by a definite reaction toward clericalism due considerably

(1) Romanism in the Light of History, R. McKim pp. 17

to the dangers of Bolshevism. The need of unity in order that France may realize her ideals as a nation, secure self-preservation, and pave the way for future prosperity, has also had an influence in placating the Catholics. No one knows what Rome will do in the days that are ahead. But its old habits of autocracy are well rooted in the heart of the whole papal system after all of these centuries of conflict and the chances are very strong that it will not readily, if ever, change. We have no assurance whatever that the papacy of today is anything else than that of Boniface the Eighth, Innocent the Third, and others. The evidence rather precludes that there is no vital difference. Leo the Thirteenth tried to teach the clergy of France that the best thing to do was not to combat the Republic but to control it. Rome must know by this time, that the Republic is assured and that no monarchy can replace it. Has the time now come when papalism is about to try the other method, and by peaceful occupation, gain complete domination? It looks much that way.

As no one can tell what Rome will do, so no one can tell what the French people will do. They have been woefully complaisant, in the face of the perfidies of the Vatican, many times in this long struggle. But, as the habits of papalism are strong, so likewise are the habits of resistance, after having been knit into the fibre of the national life for over a thousand years. It seems as possible that the United States, which has never felt the crushing hand of Roman domination, should fall beneath the stroke of the aggressive propaganda of the papacy, as that France should do it, after having fought so heroically and secured her freedom,

The true lovers of Catholicism in France, some of them outside the Church, see a more happy day to come. They see two Catholicism side by side. Clericalism, the representative of Political Rome, is on the one hand, the Rome of the Middle Ages, of Boniface the Eighth, and the rest; and true Catholicism, the hope of Louis the Ninth, of Bousset, and other champions of the truest spiritual Gallicanism is on the other. The first is passing away, as these men see it, while the second is coming to take its place. Let Sabatier give

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us the picture. He says, (1) " Lay France is preparing to write the book of which the declaration of the rights of man was but one chapter, and in this work, lay France will be aided by the elite of the clergy. Clericalists may treat these priests as apostates; their cries of hate will not even reach the ears of the workers in the great cause. There will then be a new Catholicism, in which, earnestness, hard work, manliness, and love will be supreme virtues, a Catholicism that will resemble the old, no more that the butterfly resembles the chrysalis, and yet it will be the old, and will be able tomorrow to emblazon on the pediments of its temples, the words of the Galilean; ' Non veni solvere sed adimplere, ' ' I am not come to destroy but to fulfill." France is really nothing religiously, today. It is not Protestant, Catholic, nor irreligious. It is the fallow field, ready to raise a bountiful crop. The world is hungry for an expression of the Christian life, something not Mediaeval nor yet savoring of the Reformation, but something, just Christian, that being the outgrowth of the spirit of the Twentieth Century, will be fitted for the deepest spiritual needs of our day. M. Le Roy once said in objecting to Protestantism, " We are no longer living in the period of partial heresies." May it not be possible that the final outcome of all these centuries of struggle between France and Papalism, may be a new expression of Christianity that will be as adaptive to our day as that of the Reformation was to its time?

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AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL DATA (See letter of January 16, 1926.)

Birth: Mabel, Minnesota, Sept. 25, 1881

Parents: Father, James Knox Stroud

Mother, Caroline Bacon

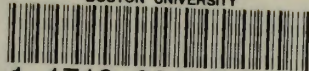
Degrees: Mabel High School, 1902

A.B., Minnesota State University, 1906

S.T.B., Boston University School of
Theology, 1909

Spent the year 1911-12 in Harvard University

BOSTON UNIVERSITY



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